

# Africa Digest

DECEMBER 1960

*Volume VIII No. 3 Annual Subscription Twenty-five Shillings*

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Published by the Africa Publications Trust

65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1. (Tate Gallery 0701)

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# AFRICA



# DIGEST

VOL. VIII No. 3

(Covering events to November 19, 1960)

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

£1. 5s. 0d.

(Cheques payable to Africa Bureau, please)

## CENTRAL AFRICA Congo

### Congo Diary—II<sup>1</sup>

*September 18.* M. Lumumba emerged from hiding and said he would remove Colonel Mobutu and rescind the decision to close the Russian and Czech Embassies in Leopoldville. Despite M. Kasavubu's denial, M. Lumumba said they had signed a joint declaration of reconciliation. National Congolese forces which had crossed the Katanga border agreed to a United Nations request to withdraw and to leave a no-man's land of 60 miles on each side of the border. Mr. Hammarskjöld replied to a bitter attack by Mr. Zorin of U.S.S.R. in the United Nations General Assembly Emergency Session.

*September 19.* M. Lumumba's second announcement of a reconciliation was denied. An attempt to assassinate Colonel Mobutu was reported. The United Nations debated an Afro-Asian resolution which called for all help to the Congo to be given only through the United Nations.

*September 20.* Colonel Mobutu announced that a technical commission, a "College of Students" headed by M. Bomboko, the Foreign Minister, would take over the administration until the end of the year, displacing both the Lumumba and the Ileo-Kasavubu Governments. Further massacres reported from Katanga. The Afro-Asian resolution was passed at the United Nations by seventy votes to nil.

*September 22.* Congolese troops demonstrated for more pay. Colonel Mobutu asked for the withdrawal of Guinean and Ghanaian troops in the United Nations force.

*September 24.* Colonel Mobutu called on both M. Lumumba and M. Kasavubu in an attempt to arrange a reconciliation. Two Lumumba ministers arrested by Colonel Mobutu were released.

*September 27.* Colonel Mobutu announced that a "round table" conference of Congolese leaders would be held.

*September 28.* Copies of letters allegedly from Dr. Nkrumah to M. Lumumba were published.

*October 2.* World Health Organization announced emergency action to avert breakdown of health services.

*October 3.* Indonesian contingent joined United Nations force bringing total to about 18,000.

*October 4.* United Nations announced a public works programme to relieve unemployment.

*October 5.* In Stanleyville, M. Lumumba's brother and other provincial officials were put under house arrest by Colonel Mobutu.

*October 9.* M. Lumumba reappeared in Leopoldville and said he was taking over power. Eight Europeans found tortured to death in North Katanga. M. Tshombe threatened to break off diplomatic relations with Belgium unless it recognized Katanga's independence.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 2.

*October 10.* M. Bomboko, president of the Council of "Students", demanded that the United Nations hand over M. Lumumba to Colonel Mobutu's forces within twenty-four hours.

*October 11.* United Nations refused to hand over M. Lumumba.

*October 13.* Colonel Mobutu said he would not try to arrest M. Lumumba as long as he was under United Nations protection.

*October 14.* M. Ndele, vice-president of the Council of "Students", attacked by supporters of M. Lumumba in the streets of Leopoldville. United Nations expert said half the labour force in the town were unemployed and living at near starvation level.

*October 16.* Colonel Mobutu visited M. Tshombe in Elisabethville and reached an agreement of "mutual friendship and respect".

*October 17.* United Nations took over responsibility for restoring peace in North and West Katanga.

*October 19.* Colonel Mobutu, at the request of United Nations, released pro-Lumumba ministers who had been arrested. They included M. Jason Sendwe, who is in opposition to M. Tshombe in Katanga.

*October 20.* Mr. R. Dayal, chief United Nations representative, complained about the disorderly behaviour of the Congolese Army and instituted mixed United Nations-Congolese police patrols in Leopoldville. M. C. Kamitatu, Leopoldville Provincial Governor, and a supporter of M. Lumumba, threatened civil mobilization against Colonel Mobutu. M. Tshombe complained of the behaviour of United Nations troops in Katanga.

*October 21.* M. Tshombe asked for the recall of Mr. I. Berendsen, chief United Nations official in Katanga.

*October 22.* Colonel Mobutu broke off relations with Mr. Dayal and said he would fly to the United Nations for talks with Mr. Hammarskjöld.

*October 23.* Congolese troops reported out of control in Leopoldville.

*October 25.* United Nations announced that Congo operations up to end of 1960 would cost about £22,795,000; excluding special aid to resolve economic life and carry on public services.

*October 26.* Colonel Mobutu, who remained in the Congo, agreed to withdraw troops from the city of Leopoldville.

*October 27.* It was reported that a number of Belgian technicians and Civil Servants had returned. Congolese troops remained round M. Lumumba's house, the wireless station, post office, etc., in Leopoldville.

*October 31.* United Nations troops captured a British officer, Captain Roberts, who had been leading Baluba irregular troops in Kasai.

*November 1.* M. Paul Katanga, Deputy Premier of breakaway "Diamond State", called on United Nations to withdraw Ghanaian troops and release Captain Roberts.

*November 3.* Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal's report submitted to United Nations General Assembly. Mr. Hammarskjöld's complaints about Belgian experts working against United Nations personnel published—Belgian officers had directed separatist Congolese forces which had been responsible for violence. Mr. Dayal said that "eruption of the Army into the

political scene constituted menace to peace and security, and actually inhibited peaceful political activity". The College of Commissioners were "inexperienced young students", who were invariably accompanied by Belgian advisers. Fifteen Balubas reported killed and twenty injured in Kolwezi riots.

**November 4.** United States State Department criticized Mr. Dayal's report and said it should be possible for United Nations and Belgium to co-operate. President Kasavubu complained of United Nations forces action in preventing arrest of M. Lumumba.

**November 6.** M. Wigny, Belgian Foreign Minister, complained of United Nations hostility to Belgians.

**November 8.** Colonel Mobutu reiterated that he would never allow Russians and Czechs to return. He attacked Mr. Dayal as a man of "bad faith". M. Lumumba scoffed at allegations that he would bring in Communists. He supported Mr. Dayal's report. M. Kasavubu addressed General Assembly and pledged the adherence of the Congo to the Charter and paid tribute to the organization for having sent help speedily. He thanked the African countries for their assistance.

**November 9.** Britain announced immediate contribution of £1,068,000 to United Nations Congo Fund and undertook further contribution next year if needed. Eight Irish soldiers killed in North Katanga ambush.

**November 10.** United Nations credentials committee recommended acceptance of President Kasavubu's delegation as representative of Congo.

**November 14.** M. Cleophas Kamitatu, Governor of Leopoldville Province, was freed by Colonel Mobutu after three days under arrest.

**November 15.** M. Wigny said Belgium would withdraw from United Nations unless its officials recognized the rules imposed upon them as public officers. M. Lumumba proposed national referendum and deplored attitude of United States Government in not supporting United Nations. Captain Roberts was reported in protective custody at his own request, not under arrest. Agreement between Colonel Mobutu and M. Kamitatu reported.

### Comment on the Congo

The British Press continues to emphasize the menacing danger of the situation in the Congo.

The *Daily Telegraph* (October 17): The deadlock is symbolized by M. Lumumba sitting at home ringed by concentric circles of United Nations and Congolese troops—the former protecting and the latter besieging him. It might be thought that his past antics and present impotence were enough to discredit him, even if he had not been formally dismissed by the President. Nevertheless, his legitimacy is still insisted on by the Communist States, by Ghana and by some other African countries. The rival Premier, M. Ileo, and his Council of Students have, indeed, been sworn in as Ministers; but they are what European jargon calls "technicians" and can scarcely be held to represent the people. If there exists a focus of Congolese power, however circumscribed, it is in the hands of Colonel Mobutu. But since he makes no pretension to political authority it is hard to see how the United Nations command could deal officially with him.

Yet there is one man who might be able to resolve the paralysing deadlock. Nobody can challenge the legitimacy of President Kasavubu as Head of State. The United Nations command could work through him without the need for any fresh directive from the Security Council. Apart from the authority of his office, he represents the best hope of political compromise, because the loose federal system which M. Kasavubu is known to favour would probably be acceptable to Katanga.

The *Times* (October 26): Obviously there will have to be a political settlement of some kind. The United Nations is not capable of administering the territory directly. At the moment it is doing little more than guarding "vulnerable points" and putting in magnificent, if localized, efforts in relief work and technical maintenance. If it is really to see the Congo on its feet again, it will have to operate by "indirect" not "direct" rule, to borrow a phrase from colonialist jargon. In other words it must operate through Congolese authorities. This is where the difficulties begin. Ideally,

it needs a centralized Government for three purposes. But there are at least two objections. The first is that the only politician with any pretence to leading a central Government is M. Lumumba whose credentials are doubtful, whose personality is unpredictable and who is now pretty fully committed to one side in the cold war. Over and above the personality of M. Lumumba it is open to doubt whether the Congo is capable of holding together as a unit in any circumstances. It would be much better if it could, and would make the United Nations' task much easier. But the country is large and diverse. The recent experience in Senegal and Mali is not encouraging to those who quite rightly favour larger units in Africa.

To reach a settlement is indeed hard enough if only the Congolese had to be considered. It is rendered infinitely harder by the entry into Africa of the cold war, an event for which Mr. Krushchev and M. Lumumba must between them bear the greater share of the blame through the insane attempt to equip M. Lumumba with Russian transport aircraft and lorries outside the ambit of the United Nations. The split in the attitude to the Congo is no longer confined only to the Great Powers. It has invaded the neutrals and the independent African States too, who are themselves divided over the question of whether M. Lumumba is splitting the Congo into cold war alignments or not.

The *Observer* (November 13): The indispensability of the United Nations in the Congo crisis seemed to have been fully grasped by the Western allies at the beginning of the present General Assembly. But their support for the Secretary-General has suddenly diminished since his representatives in the Congo protested against Belgian intervention.

Despite official United States protests that Belgian aid in the Congo "has no ulterior motive" there is no doubt whatsoever that ever since the revolt of the indigenous Force Publique, the Belgian Government has been building up Katanga as a base from which to challenge any Congolese Central Government. At the time of independence there were about 100 Belgian officers with the Katanga Force Publique; now there are more than 500 "volunteers" besides the large-scale military aid supplied to M. Tshombe. The United Nations forces have already stopped two military incursions from Katanga into Kasai, led by European officers supported by Belgian arms and on one occasion supplied by helicopters. . . .

Had it not been that the best international reporters in the United States this week were wholly preoccupied with the presidential election drama, it is inconceivable that so little attention would have been paid to the two occasions on which most of the African and Asian countries—including two Commonwealth members, India and Ghana—lined up on the Congo crisis with the Soviet bloc against the West. That meant a reversal of the much-vaunted "victory" at the beginning of the General Assembly, when the Western allies, in supporting Mr. Hammarskjöld, and favouring an international solution to the crisis, rallied most of the Afro-Asian bloc and won a huge majority. Then it was the Russians who were isolated: now it is us.

The first occasion when most of the Afro-Asian bloc lined up with the Communists and against the West was in favour of a motion proposed by Ghana for suspending the Assembly debate on the Congo while awaiting a report from the fifteen-member Afro-Asian Conciliation Commission. The second occasion came when the Americans won a victory in the small Credentials Committee to seat President Kasavubu's delegation instead of Premier Lumumba's. None of the Afro-Asian countries, except the Philippines, supported the move, which may well be rejected when it comes up for a vote in the General Assembly. . . .

None of the rival Congolese leaders can hope to rule alone unless with foreign backing. Tshombe has summoned the Belgians to his aid. Lumumba first tried to get the African States to back him, and when this failed he turned to the Russians. Kasavubu (with the military support of the Force Publique) has been hoping for the support of the United Nations, or alternatively of the Western powers.

The Western Governments are worried about M. Lumumba's personality, his effort to get Communist support, and the impracticality of his plan for a strongly centralized Government, as against M. Kasavubu's readiness to accept a looser federation system. The fact remains that some compromise between them provides the last hope of setting up a legitimate Government which the other African States would recognize.



# Nyasaland

## Constitution—A Correction

IN the AFRICA DIGEST for October 1960 (Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 45) the qualifications for the first and higher voters' roll were wrongly given following a mistaken report in an African periodical. The correct qualifications are, in addition to nationality, residence and age:

- (a) Four years' secondary education and either an income of £300 a year or ownership of property which is worth £500; or
- (b) A primary education and either an income of £480 a year or ownership of property which is worth £1,000; or
- (c) Either an income of £720 a year or ownership of property which is worth £1,500.

## New Governor

Mr. G. S. Jones, the present Chief Secretary, has received a knighthood. He will become the next Governor in April 1961, when Sir Robert Armitage is to retire. Sir Glyn Jones, 52, served in Northern Rhodesia from 1933 until he moved to Nyasaland recently.

## Detainees Released

The last fourteen Africans detained under emergency regulations have been released—eighteen months after the state of emergency was declared. Their release, by order of Mr. G. S. Jones, the acting Governor, was accompanied by the cancellation of all control orders published in connexion with the emergency. Mr. Jones said these steps had been taken so that no further cause for bitterness will remain and in the hope and trust that it will bring about an atmosphere of peace in which the new constitution<sup>1</sup> agreed to at Lancaster House can be introduced. . . . "The people concerned are all associated with the Malawi Congress Party and the step I have taken has been made the more easy because the leader of that Party, Dr. Banda, has made a public statement repeating his denunciation of violence and intimidation and enjoining everyone to respect the rights and freedoms of all—even political opponents. He has also given me an assurance that those released will be of good behaviour. These people are gaining their freedom because I expect this to relieve tensions and to show members of the Malawi Congress Party and others that I believe in the freedom of political thought and expression. I hope that members of all parties will understand this and that they will henceforth respect the liberties of all other political parties.

"The agreed constitution is a democratic constitution and can function only if people are able to exercise freedom of thought and speech without fear of intimidation or victimization."

In a simultaneous statement Dr. Banda said: "It is my policy and that of my Party to see that the elections and the preparations for them shall be conducted on our part in a true and democratic spirit. Although we shall strive by all lawful means to obtain as many seats as possible in the new legislature we shall not deny the right of other parties to do the same. As I have repeatedly said, we believe in freedom of speech and freedom of association and we do not deny these freedoms to our political opponents. . . . I and my Party are not believers in violence and we abhor violence just as much as anyone else. . . . Such acts of violence and intimidation as are reported about my followers are not all necessarily true, but where they are proved to be true, let the law deal with them as it does with any other criminal act. I denounce violence and intimidation just as anyone else and all members of my Party are aware of my views on this point.

"As I have said more than once since my return to this country, I believe in co-operation between races and look forward to more of this in the coming months and in the future in Nyasaland." (*Press Release*, September 27.)

On release the detainees were taken to Kota Kota by bus and dressed in red gowns, the uniform of prison graduates, were received by Dr. Banda before a crowd of 10,000 people. Mr. H. B. Chipembere, former M.L.C. said that he had told the Government officials that now that Kamuzu had achieved self-government for Nyasaland, we had no further

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 2.

reason to cause trouble. "I admitted that, before self-government had been achieved, I was a man of terrific temperament. They see trouble in Nyasaland and that if we had not been granted self-government there would have been widespread rioting and demolishing of imperialism.

"But now that self-government has been achieved my friends and I are concerned only with our responsibility to develop Nyasaland socially, agriculturally and economically." Mr. Chipembere left to attend the celebrations marking the achievement of a Republic Government in Tanganyika. (*Northern News*, September 29 and 30.)

It was announced that Mr. Chipembere and Mr. Dunduza Chisiza would respectively resume their jobs of Treasurer-General and Secretary-General of the Malawi Congress Party.

## Forms of Opposition

In the Central and Southern Provinces, Federal Government vaccination teams are being boycotted, which is leading to the danger of the spread of smallpox. This follows refusal to co-operate with a World Health Organization tuberculosis survey.<sup>1</sup> In Lake Chirisa area, villagers refused to have the annual anti-malaria spraying because it was being undertaken, as has been the practice since 1956, by Federal Ministry of Health teams. (*Press Statement*, October 12.)

In the Port Herald area, a £4,000 scheme to provide irrigation for rice growing was withdrawn after Africans refused to co-operate. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 4.)

## The Future of Nyasaland

Dr. H. K. Banda made a four-hour speech at the First Annual Conference of the Malawi Congress Party held at Kota Kota at the end of September. In it he said: "Let me repeat what I have said many times. I am not against Europeans. I am not against Asians. As for Europeans I could never be against them. I grew up in Europe. I attended school, college and university side by side with white boys and girls. I practised medicine in London and 99 per cent of my patients were Europeans. As I stand here this afternoon I have many more friends among Europeans in America and in Britain than I have among my own people. So I could not hate Europeans even if I had an inclination to hate Europeans and I have no such inclination.

"Those Europeans who want to live in this country, to do business as traders, industrialists, farmers and any other occupations and those Europeans who want to live in this country as our guests, friends and our citizens have nothing to fear from me or from any of my followers. We welcome such Europeans. Neither I nor any of my followers has any intention of driving this kind of European into the Atlantic Ocean or this kind of Asian into the Indian Ocean.

"But let me be open and frank. Those Europeans who do not realize that this is not 1892 but 1960 and those Europeans who want to be here or want to come here to be our lords and masters, I want to say to them 'Pack up and go now!' For this kind of European, for this kind of Asian there is no place for him here. This is our country, our home. The only home we know on the continent of Africa. And in our home, in our country we are not prepared to have foreign lords and masters and foreign *bwanas* and *donas*, because we mean to be our own lords and masters in our own country.

"What is true of the European settlers is also true of the Civil Servants. I have nothing against Civil Servants but I insist that Civil Servants must not be politicians.

"I would be failing in my duty as the leader not only of the Malawi Congress Party but also of the National Liberation Movement in this country if I sat down without speaking to you on the subject of hard work. I have said that we have a new constitution. This constitution gives us the substance of self-government. There will be African ministers and virtually an African Government and, therefore, we will be consulted on every point.

"This constitution while it confers upon us benefits and privileges, also imposes upon us—upon every one of us—the duty to work harder—much harder than we ever did under imperialism. Under the new constitution, under our own Government, we have to build a nation, a new nation, a

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 2.

modern state worth the name, we have to have schools, we have to have hospitals, we have to have roads, we have to have many other amenities of a modern state. . . .

"This country is essentially an agricultural country. There are no mines. There are no factories and no industries worth the name. The wealth of this country is in the soil and is contained in groundnuts, maize, rice, tobacco, tea and all other products of the soil. In the past it has been a fashion in this country on the part of the so-called educated people, even boys of standard four or standard six—to look down upon farming and manual labour and to despise farming as an occupation or as a profession. The ambition of the average schoolboy has been to hang a pencil behind his ear and push a pen behind a clerical desk, or with chalk in hand to stand before a blackboard in front of boys and girls in school.

"In the Malawi that we intend to build here I want everybody to know that there is dignity in labour on the farm. A man who tills the soil on the farm is much more of a *bwana* because he is self-employed. I must repeat, outside of the soil, we cannot live in this country. Therefore, my boys and girls in this country must take interest in agriculture. They do that in Britain and America. Farmers in America are men with degrees. What is wrong in farming? Are you in standard four and standard six so highly educated when people with B.A.s and B.Sc.s are farmers in America . . . ?

"There must be enough teachers and clerks and enough people on the land.

"It is also my aim to bring back some of our men from Southern Rhodesia and from South Africa. As everyone knows, many men from our country are in South Africa or in Southern Rhodesia. Many of them are skilled at planting and grading tobacco and many other processes. They make thousands and even millions of pounds for European farmers of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. It is my aim to bring back every one of these young men and settle them on the farms in the Central Province. So that instead of making money for the European farmers of Southern Rhodesia they can make money for themselves in this country. And instead of enriching the European farmers who want to keep them under this stupid Federation they can enrich themselves in this country—their homeland of Malawi." (*Malawi News*, October 15.)

### Monckton Commissioner Attacked

Three men were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of fifteen and eighteen months with hard labour, at Mzuzu for assaulting Mr. E. K. Gondwe, an education officer, on his return last month from serving on the Monckton Commission. (*Press Release*, October 19.)

### Christian Democratic Party

Mr. Chester Katsanga, formerly Blantyre district chairman of the now banned Nyasaland African Congress, has founded a new non-racial Christian Democratic Party. It was reported to have about 210 members, mostly ex-Malawi members. The new Party was attacked in *Malawi News* (October 22) as being the tool of Vatican imperialism. The leaders were all said to be Roman Catholics. The new Party made the total of parties in Nyasaland eight, other African-led parties were Malawi Congress, Congress Liberation, Republican, Chipipi, while the three European-led parties were United Federal, Dominion, and Central Africa. (*Guardian*, October 19.)

## Rhodesia, Northern

### Constitutional Talks

THE Colonial Secretary, Mr. Ian Macleod, agreed to a proposal of Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, that informal talks on the Northern Rhodesia constitution should be held with leaders of political parties in the Territory. Sir Evelyn said he intended inviting leading representatives of political parties and of chiefs in the Territory to meet him first individually to discuss their views on further political advance in the Territory.

Dr. G. A. Smith, the only Dominion Party representative in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, said he was astonished at Mr.

Macleod's statement, which was "in complete conflict" with assurances given earlier in the year that he had no plans for changing Northern Rhodesia's constitution. (*Federation Newsletter*, October 7.)

Talks will be held in London, probably early in December, simultaneously with the Federal Constitutional Review.

U.N.I.P. proposals include an Executive Council of nine ministerial members appointed on the advice of the leader of the majority party in the Legislative Council, together with three *ex-officio* members (the Attorney-General, the Finance Minister, and the Minister of Mines and Power): universal franchise at the age of 21: Reserved seats for minorities i.e. eleven for Europeans as against forty-four open seats for Africans, and two nominated Asians and one nominated Eurafrican.

The African National Congress made proposals for a Legislative Council of seventy-five members including three officials, sixteen Europeans and three Asians and Coloureds. They also asked for a cabinet of twelve members: there would be two places reserved for Europeans and the officials would be Minister of Finance, Health and Law. There would be universal franchise and a Bill of Rights.

Mr. L. Katilungu, president of the African Mineworkers' Union and the African T.U.C. joined the A.N.C. The A.M.U. has 16,000 members. Mr. G. Chindell of the Central African Party said he too would join Congress.

Sixteen tribal chiefs from different provinces have also made their constitutional proposals known to the Governor. They suggest a Legislative Council of forty-five elected Africans and twelve elected Europeans. Although most of the deliberations between the chiefs and the Governor were in camera, it was learnt that no mention was made of having Asian and Coloured members of the House. At a private discussion held earlier the chiefs decided against the idea of becoming members of the Legislative Council. As hereditary rulers, they agreed to keep out of the political arena. They instead suggested the formation of a council in which Paramount and Senior Chiefs would be represented. Like the Chief's Council in Ghana this would make suggestions for various development schemes to be carried out in rural areas. (*African Mail*, October 20.)

### Effects of Race Relations Ordinance

After a few incidents<sup>1</sup> when the new Race Relations Ordinance came into effect, the changes were generally accepted. However a number of Mine Clubs which ran cinemas shut down rather than admit Africans or opened at exclusive cinema clubs.

Hotelkeepers and restaurant owners protested against unfair competition from a number of newly formed clubs. Clubs are exempted from the Race Relations Ordinance and can exclude Africans. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 22 and 29.)

The Municipal Association of Livingstone decided with one dissentient to request the Governor to suspend the Race Relations Ordinance. Lusaka City Council accepted the principle of African nominated members but turned down a proposal that up to a third of the councillors should be elected by Africans. (*Sunday Mail*, October 9.)

### New Parties

Under the leadership of Sir John Moffat, a new Liberal Party has been founded: Mr. Harry Franklin is chairman and the Rev. Colin Morris, who was minister at Chingola Free Church, has given up his ministry to become vice-president. The Party is multi-racial and its policy calls for the end of federation and a new constitution for Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. John Gaunt, Federal M.P., has formed a new party, the Rhodesian Reformed Party, pledged to keep Government in the hands of responsible people. (*Guardian*, October 31.)

### U.N.I.P. and South Africa

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, said that his Party would organize a Territory-wide boycott of South African goods.

But the Party was waiting for information from Britain and other countries where anti-South African boycotts had been staged before  
'DIGEST VIII, 2.

drawing up a list of goods. Then thousands of leaflets with the lists would be distributed to all branches in the country.

The Northern Rhodesia boycott would be staged at about the same time as a similar one in Kenya to join boycotts in Ghana, Guinea, Tanganyika, Malaya and India among other countries. (*Federation Newsletter*, October 7.)

## Rhodesia, Southern

### Crisis Continues

#### Prime Minister Attacked

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, had stones thrown at his car and was prevented from speaking at a meeting of a welfare society for aged Africans held in Highfield African township. Police used tear gas and made baton charges to disperse a crowd of about 2,000 people. Later an African was charged with using threatening, abusive and insulting words and behaviour. (*Rhodesia Herald* and *Northern News*, September 16.)

At Bulawayo, Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, Minister of Labour, won over a hostile and noisy meeting of 1,500 Africans. Other speakers had failed to get a hearing. (*The Times*, September 20.)

#### Call-up of Troops

Southern Rhodesian Territorial troops were called up and posted in African townships on October 14; they were withdrawn again early in November. This followed further riots in October at Salisbury (where six Africans were killed and several injured) and Gwelo. Royal Rhodesian Air Force planes dropped 20,000 leaflets over African townships in Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gwelo. The Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, banned all public meetings in all African townships in urban areas, for a month from October 15. Meetings in Salisbury (except sporting, religious and cultural ones) have been banned since the July riots. (*The Times*, October 15.)

#### Vagrancy Act

The Southern Rhodesian Parliament rushed through the Vagrancy Act giving the police power to arrest "spivs, loafers and hoodlums" who can then, on a magistrate's order, be held for up to three years in "rehabilitation centres". Those liable to arrest include people without honest means of livelihood, beggars, people living in parks and unoccupied buildings, and people "professing to tell fortunes or using any subtle craft by palmistry or otherwise or playing any game of chance to cheat, deceive, or impose upon any other person". In the first week of its operation over 680 arrests were reported in six different urban centres. They included three Europeans. Many Africans arrested were "aliens" and liable to deportation to Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland or Mozambique. The majority are aged between 20 and 30.

Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, told the House of Commons that he did not intend to use his powers to disallow the Act (November 10).

#### Emergency Powers

The Emergency Powers Bill was also hurried through Parliament. It permits the Governor to proclaim a state of emergency when action has been taken or is immediately threatened on a scale likely to endanger public safety or disturb public order. He will have the power temporarily to amend or suspend an existing law, order the removal of people from one part of the colony to another, and make provision for summary arrest or detention. (*Guardian*, October 19.)

#### Law and Order Bill

The Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill provoked a storm of protest from the churches and other organizations. The heads of five of Southern Rhodesia's churches—Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Congregational—signed a letter addressed to every member of the Southern Rhodesia Parliament and a joint deputation from the Rhodesia and

Nyasaland branch of the Commonwealth Press Union and the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists met Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister, to protest against certain measures affecting publications proposed in the Bill. (*The Times*, October 28.)

The Bill provides for increased powers to the police to enter any house at any time and search without a warrant; it empowers the Minister of Justice to ban any publication, and imposes heavy sentences for stoning cars. It also empowers the Minister to arrest or remove to another area a person who in his opinion is likely to endanger peace. It also restricted the discretion of the courts in that it provided the minimum sentence to be imposed for certain offences.

On November 8 it was stated that substantial amendments were to be made to the Bill. Mr. Reginald Knight, Minister of Justice, introducing the second reading said that the Bill was absolutely non-racial. The intention of the Government was to achieve an atmosphere where everybody could go about their business without fear. This was essential in view of the recent riots at Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo and Gatooma.

The Bill would be amended to cover the points raised against the provision for the Minister to ban publications if he thought that publication was "contrary to the public interest". This power would instead be given to the Government. The amendments would also provide that the police should not have power to enter and remain on private residential premises where more than three people are gathered. Certain penalties which in the original Bill could be punished only by imprisonment would be amended to provide for the option of a fine; particularly instances where this would apply were now being considered.

In regard to minimum penalties, the courts would be given discretion to pass lesser penalties in special circumstances. Mr. Knight said that the Attorney-General would have the right to challenge a finding that there were special circumstances, and also the penalty imposed by the court. "Special circumstances" would have to appertain to the case itself and not to the individual accused—"for instance, that he has a large family which must be supported". (*The Times*, November 16.)

#### Chief Justice's Resignation

Sir Robert Tredgold resigned on November 1, as Federal Chief Justice, and called for a National Front to take over the government of Southern Rhodesia as soon as possible. Sir Robert said at a press conference in Salisbury that this practical line was the best way to deal with the critical situation in the colony and Federation.

He called on all existing parties to get together to clear the way for a National Government with three basic principles: maintenance of firm government without the sacrifice of basic human rights; wholehearted co-operation by people of all races; and continuation of the Federation.

Of Sir Edgar Whitehead, Sir Robert said: "I believe he has lost the confidence of the entire African population almost to the point of no return, and he has also lost the confidence of a great many Europeans."

Sir Robert said that the great mistake political leaders in Southern Rhodesia made in the past was to believe that they could go forward so long as they had the support of the electorate, regardless of the fact that they were losing the support of the great majority of the people who were not represented. Constitutional conferences would achieve nothing unless Southern Rhodesia made it plain that it committed itself to a policy of racial partnership.

The Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill was a symptom of the malaise which had to be remedied and that was the main purpose of his resignation. (*The Times*, November 3.)

Sir Robert also described the Bill as outraging "almost every basic human right and an unwarranted invasion by the executive in the sphere of the courts". He said it was "essentially a mean measure", because it was not intended to apply it against the Whites.

Letters to the *Rhodesia Herald* (November 7) showed little sympathy for Sir Robert's stand.

M. F. Thesen wrote: "I feel deeply stirred that this man has been raised up at a time when we need a leader who is a man of integrity, fearlessness and selflessness." But A. J. Labuschagne wrote: "The people of this country who want racial harmony, law and order stand firmer than ever behind Sir Edgar and his Government."



A. F. Hopkinson wrote: "No one will doubt his (Sir Robert's) sincerity, but with the eyes of the world focused upon us any small thing is exaggerated and when a Chief Justice gives up all to come to our rescue it is looked upon as an event which exaggerates the seriousness of our position out of all proportion. . . . I think that both Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead are to be congratulated on the way in which they have stood so firm while being attacked from all sides from within and without the Federation."

### Advance of Partnership

For the first time in its history, the British South Africa Police held a multi-racial athletics meeting. "I would like to stress that we are competing together and not against each other," said a junior police spokesman. "When it comes to relay racing and tug-o'-war the best man gets into the side no matter what his colour."

Thirty delegates from mines in all parts of Southern Rhodesia officially endorsed constitutional changes in their union, the Associated Mineworkers' Union of Southern Rhodesia, to make it completely multi-racial. For some time before this decision the union had been looking after the interests of African mineworkers, and already had some African members.

Mr. H. B. Bloomfield, president of the union, said the policy adopted was not going to bring results overnight. A number of Africans would become grade one members of the union. At present African members are in grades two and three.

Mr. Bloomfield, who attended a recent meeting of the Miners' International Federation in Stockholm, said the International Federation had supported the policy of the Southern Rhodesia union and had expressed its confidence in the union by establishing its liaison officer in Africa, Mr. W. Hinson, at the union's headquarters in Gwelo. (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 29.)

The Rhodesian Railway Workers' Union has twenty-two African members, fifteen in Bulawayo and seven in Gwelo. They are all road service drivers and began paying their 10s. a month payment membership fees at the end of September. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 16.)

Sir Vincent Tewson, who was, until recently, the General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress in London, resisted a demand from Mr. H. F. G. Skeates (Tobacco Workers' Union) that the boycott of South African goods should be extended to goods from Southern Rhodesia. He said that the latest reports received by the General Council from Southern Rhodesia showed that there had been an improvement in the situation. "There are now the signs within the trade union movement of a very different spirit. Some of the White trade unions specifically cater for African workers and are helping them with organization."

At the rostrum, Mr. Skeates had produced photographs to show segregation in Southern Rhodesia of African and Asians. He said that racialism was part of the policy of the governing White people there and they should be censured by the T.U.C. (*Guardian*, September 9.)

The Government introduced a Bill to allow Non-Europeans to enter the Civil Service. Mr. Harper for the Opposition said it was merely an attempt to placate the British Government. The Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, said that if Non-Europeans were kept out, within ten years two-thirds of the European population would have to be Civil Servants. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 4.)

### Indaba

The National Indaba or Convention, called at the suggestion of Sir Charles Cummings, has opened under the chairmanship of Sir John Kennedy, a former Governor; 180 delegates attended. Sir John Kennedy said that though the Government could not be bound by the findings of the convention he expected them to receive serious consideration. Rhodesians should start a new wind of change and be the pioneers of a truly multi-racial life. (*The Times*, November 1.)

Andrew Wilson said that though Africans and Europeans were about equally represented, the N.D.P. proposed to boycott the meeting as also did the African Trades Union Congress. They feared that it would concentrate on social issues rather than political ones. (*O.F.N.S.*, October 26.)

### Rhodesian Republican Army

A European farmer and a mineowner claimed that they had started the Rhodesian Republican Army as a joke, but that it had now grown out of control. They admitted writing manifestos and painting slogans. They insisted on remaining anonymous and said other more serious elements had now taken over the R.R.A. Among those who received anonymous and threatening telephone calls have been the correspondents of British newspapers, and Mr. and Mrs. Haddon, who have been leading members of the Inter-Racial Association and closely connected with the Legal Aid and Welfare Fund for detainees. The R.R.A. raided the office of Mr. A. C. Bowles, a Salisbury attorney and did damage to his papers and files. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 4.)

Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, signed an order under the Unlawful Organizations Act, 1959, declaring the R.R.A. unlawful. (*The Times*, November 1.)

### Land Apportionment

The Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, told Parliament: "No hasty decision can be made about the Land Apportionment Act at this stage because consultations will also have to take place with the Government of the United Kingdom." There was no question of immediately implementing all the recommendations of the Select Committee, but parts of the report which were urgent and appeared to be acceptable to all members of the House. He hoped to present a Bill on these "active" parts at the end of the present sitting or the beginning of the next.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. W. J. Harper, warned that if the Act were repealed and all the recommendations of the Select Committee were followed, "Little Rock would look like a tea-party in comparison".

The Minister of the Treasury and Mines, Mr. C. J. Hatty, spoke of the tremendous difference in the amount of capital investment in the European and African rural areas, and said it was virtually impossible for the African people to make any great progress in their farming areas unless they had something to pledge as security for loans. It was absolutely essential to give freehold tenure to Africans in their farming areas.

Mr. W. Starling of the Dominion Party said that his Party was entirely opposed to any "breach" of the Act. The whole report made by the Select Committee was repugnant to them and could not be supported in any way.

Warning that the Party would reinstate the Act, he added: "I also give due notice that nobody will be allowed to hold any land they may have obtained under the repeal."

Other Dominion Party speakers prophesied social and economic chaos if the Select Committee's proposals were adopted.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (September 29) deplored the Opposition's attitude. The proposals were the death knell of paternalism.

It was decided by eighteen votes to nine to remit the Select Committee report to the Government for consideration. An Opposition amendment that only certain sections should be so considered was defeated. The Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. Quentin, said the Government would employ a team of experts to plan the general development of African agriculture as a matter of vital importance. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 5.)

### Demand for Constitutional Change

Sir Edgar Whitehead arrives in London on November 26 for informal discussions with Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, on the Southern Rhodesian Constitution. It is believed that he will submit proposals for its amendment.

A legal correspondent writing in the *Central Africa Examiner* (September 24) discussed Sir Edgar's efforts to have the reserve clauses removed from the constitution. His earlier visit to London brought the subject of these reserved powers into the political limelight. The Dominion Party came out in favour of their removal, but expressed doubt whether the Prime Minister would succeed. The fact that it was Sir Edgar who sought the removal of the clauses was, to Africans, a good reason for their retention.

The British Government's powers to prevent the Southern Rhodesian Legislature from making certain laws, or to revoke, alter or amend certain of the provisions of the Constitution, are contained in sections 27, 28, 31, 32, 40 and 61 of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution.

If a law subjects Africans to restrictions to which Europeans are not also subjected—or, in theory, vice versa—the Governor must obtain the Queen's approval for that law, unless he has already received her instructions through the Secretary of State. These provisions do not prevent the passing of laws which have the effect of discriminating between Europeans and Africans. As long as a prohibition applies equally to Europeans and Africans, it would appear that the powers of reservation do not apply. The fact that while a prohibition applies equally to both, but only Africans are for all practical purposes detrimentally affected by it, does not make the law subject to the prior consent of the British Government.

Why did Sir Edgar Whitehead express such determination to bring about the removal of the reserved clauses, if, as can be accepted, he had no desire to introduce any discriminatory legislation?

Various reasons have been given, but not one is based on any suggestion that the reserved clauses impede or hamper the Government in making laws which are deemed desirable or necessary. The reasons which have been put forward for their removal can be summarized as follows:

(a) It is not consistent with the desired constitutional development of Southern Rhodesia that its legislative powers should be subject in this way to the wishes of another Government.

(b) Parliament can be trusted not to pass any discriminatory laws.

(c) Parliament should not be restricted in passing any law which it deems necessary and desirable, even if Africans (or Europeans) are subjected to restrictions to which the other race is not.

(d) Members of Parliament are better qualified than the British Government to determine what laws are necessary.

(e) The electorate is better qualified and more competent than the British people and the British Government to decide what is in the best interests of Africa.

(f) Consultation between the two Governments delays desirable legislation.

(g) The powers have never been used by the British Government to disallow any legislation so they serve no useful purpose.

The National Democratic Party say, however, that:

(a) Southern Rhodesia may have proved competent to govern within the framework of a system acceptable to the European minority, but it has failed to gain the confidence of the majority of Africans.

(b) As long as law-making machinery is in the hands of Europeans, there is no justification for depriving the Africans of any safeguard—however ineffective—against discriminatory legislation.

(c) It may be true that officials in London know little about legislation submitted to them from Salisbury, but it does not follow that the local knowledge of Southern Rhodesia Europeans has made them less biased; on the contrary, the Europeans are only determined to maintain their dominant position.

(d) Africans should not be left completely powerless constitutionally against whatever African policy the European party in power may try to implement from time to time.

(e) The people who are most qualified to safeguard the rights of Africans are the Africans themselves, and until they participate effectively in the making of laws, the existing safeguards should not be removed.

An examination of the reasons advanced for the removal of the reserved clauses reveals that their removal is sought mainly on the grounds of constitutional prestige.

The desire for independence and constitutional sovereignty is real and honest, and it is certainly in keeping with the modern cry for freedom from external control. Nevertheless, the question arises whether Sir Edgar's request should be acceded to in the face of opposition from those people for whose benefit the reserved clauses exist.

Governments change and Government policy changes even more often. Until the Africans and Europeans in Southern Rhodesia agree to the removal of these clauses, or the grounds for opposition are removed, there is good reason for the view that the British Government must not abandon the powers which are entrusted to it.

### N.D.P. Leadership

Mr. Joshua Nkomo, formerly President-General of the banned African National Congress, was elected president of the National Demo-

cratic Party. Mr. Nkomo, who has lived in exile in London since the state of emergency was declared in March 1959, is a member of the executive committee of the All-African Peoples' Conference. Sir Edgar Whitehead said that the order of arrest made out against Mr. Nkomo would not be executed if he returned.

Previously Mr. Michael Mawema resigned the presidency owing to ill health and Mr. Leopold Takawira was elected interim president until the conference.

Mr. Nkomo told a press conference in London that he was returning to Salisbury soon. He recalled that some of those arrested in 1959 were still in detention. They included men like George Nyandoro and J. R. Chikereme who were his colleagues in the original African National Congress and he demanded their release.

Mr. Nkomo called on the people of Southern Rhodesia to accept the political programme of the National Democratic Party. "Let them accept the formation of an interim body to administer the country while a new constitution is being worked out; let them accept one man, one vote and a happy future based on respect for fundamental human rights. The National Democratic Party wants to establish in Southern Rhodesia a non-racial society. It does not accept the concept of multi-racialism which divides people into two irreconcilable nations living in one state."

The N.D.P. secretary, Mr. Enos Nkala, was sentenced to six months' hard labour with no option of a fine on charges of obstructing the police and of malicious injury to property. The offences took place when Mr. Mawema's trial was transferred out of Salisbury.<sup>1</sup> Bail was allowed pending appeal.

The N.D.P. deputy-president, Mr. Moton Malianga, was fined £75 and given a suspended sentence of five months' imprisonment under the Public Order Act. He was found not guilty under four other counts in the same Act and two counts of contravening the Sedition Act Bill were allowed pending appeal.

When Mr. Duncan Sandys paid his first visit to Rhodesia as Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Mawema, Mr. Malianga, Mr. Nkala and Mr. H. Chitepo went as a delegation to see him and to ask for constitutional intervention by the British Government. (*The Times*, September 20.)

## Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of

### Monckton Report—A Summary<sup>2</sup>

THE Rt. Hon. Viscount Monckton was chairman, and Sir Donald Mac-Gillivray, vice-chairman, of the Commission now known as the Monckton Commission. There were twenty-four other members drawn from the United Kingdom (nine), Central Africa (thirteen), Australia (one), and Canada (one). There were five African Commissioners. Lord Shawcross, one of the United Kingdom members, had to resign from the Commission on June 7 because of ill health.

The Majority Report was signed by twenty-three members but many of the signatories expressed reservations and dissent on a number of points. In this summary of the Majority Report the recommendations receiving the greatest measure of support have been included. The Minority Report which was signed by Mr. H. Habanyama and Mr. W. M. Chirwa is dealt with separately.

### Majority Report

The Commission Report states that federation cannot be maintained in its present form, but to break it up now would be an admission that there is no hope of survival for any multi-racial society on the African continent. The Commission is convinced of the economic, material and political advantages of federation, as well as of the impossibility of its continuation in its present form. It considered alternative forms of

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 2.

<sup>2</sup>Published H.M.S.O., Cmd. 1148, 8s.



association but rejected these. Instead it recommends certain changes which it believes would remove the main objections to the present scheme.

1. There should be a broader franchise, though remaining qualitative, without any system of devaluing or weighting votes.

2. Parity should be achieved in a Federal Legislature of sixty by allocation of thirty seats to Africans and thirty to Europeans.

3. The Federal Review Conference should consider the composition of a committee to make recommendations on the details of the franchise.

4. The Asian community should have one non-voting member in the Assembly.

5. There should be immediate advance towards full self-government for Northern Rhodesia. There should be an African majority in the Legislature and an unofficial majority in the Executive Council. Special representation of tribal authorities should be arranged where necessary to ensure an adequate African vote in certain regions. The traditional respect for the chiefs should be encouraged.

6. On the important question of allocation of functions between Federal and Territorial Governments, the Commissioners recommend that there should be no division of powers along racial lines. Non-African education, prisons, Land Bank and co-operatives, pensions, health, Non-African agriculture and roads should be returned to the territorial governments. The Commissioners recommend consultation between governments on questions of defence, prohibition of immigrants, and higher education. They recommend that the power to deport people from the Federation should remain with the Federal Government but should be specifically limited to criminals and undesirable aliens. The machinery of consultation should be strengthened and there should be an advisory Economic Development Council composed of Ministers from each Government.

7. On race discrimination the Commissioners say it occurs throughout the Federation but is more comprehensively entrenched in Southern Rhodesia; drastic changes are necessary if federation in any form is to succeed. The Pass Laws should be amended and discrimination in urban local government, industry and land policy removed.

8. In considering constitutional safeguards the Commissioners emphasize that existing safeguards must be improved and extended to protect individual as well as collective rights. Identical Bills of Rights should be incorporated in Federal and Territorial constitutions and Councils of State set up to protect persons against the enactment of unfairly discriminatory legislation.

9. It is recommended that in future the Federal legislature should meet in each of the three territories in turn. In time there should be reconsideration of the siting of the Federal capital, and federation must be dropped as the name of the new form of association of the Central African states.

10. Emphasis is laid on the importance of a locally recruited Civil Service and consultation between governments is recommended.

11. Secession: In the view of the Commissioners, the present constitution does not confer the right of secession on any of the territorial legislatures nor would they acquire this right on the achievement of responsible self-government. Secession should be on the agenda of the Review Conference and the Commissioners recommend that Her Majesty's Government should declare its intention to permit the secession of any territory either after a stated trial period, if requested to do so, or on the achievement of responsible government. Her Majesty's Government in either case should first ascertain the views of the majority of the inhabitants. The Federation can only attain full independence within the Commonwealth when all three territories have attained self-government.

The majority state that the main arguments for federation are economic. . . . First, a common market embracing 8 million potential customers is much more valuable than three separate markets each embracing less than 3 million. Secondly, this larger unit is very much more credit-worthy than each of its constituent parts. Third, the economics of the three countries are complementary.

They emphasize that Nyasaland's unemployment problem would be great if her people could not seek work in Southern Rhodesia. After examining the main economic statistics which compare 1954 with 1959, the Commission conclude that they present a picture of rapidly expanding economy. But to maintain economic impetus the Federal Government must borrow about £10 million a year. Recent events in the Federation

and in other parts of Africa have made this difficult and this difficulty may persist. They recommend Exchequer loans at the lowest possible rates of interest to meet this difficulty.

#### Minority Report

Mr. Habanyama and Mr. Chirwa found themselves unable to sign the majority report because they disagreed on two matters of principle. They are unable to accept the continuation of federation not based on consent and they consider the majority deal inadequately with the all-important question of territorial constitutional advance.

On the first principle the minority state that they do not believe any change in constitutional structure could bring about a sudden shift in African opinion. The continuance of federation must therefore involve a further period of dictatorial rule and this they regard as intolerable.

They recommend that the Review Conference should provide for the holding of a referendum in each territory to discover the views of the inhabitants on whether or not they wish their territory to remain in the Federation.

The minority also argues that the economic development of Central Africa has been distorted and unbalanced by federation. They instance the examples of the Kafue and Shire hydro-electric schemes as examples of territorial schemes shelved in favour of Federal ones. They are unconvinced that the Southern Rhodesian Government will be prepared to consider the radical reforms and abolition of race discrimination advocated by the majority.

The Minority Report therefore states the view that federation should be dissolved forthwith and that there should be an Inter-Territorial Economic Council at Ministerial level to administer such schemes as Kariba and to ensure consultation on economic questions.

On the territorial constitutions the minority deplore the fact that the Majority Report does not deal with Southern Rhodesia. In the Northern Territories they ask for African majorities, a small representation of minorities and two officials in the Legislatures and Executive Councils, with the leader of the majority party having the status of Chief Minister. They reiterate support for a franchise based on one man one vote, but say that they are prepared to concede special representation of minorities for the present.

In criticizing the detailed recommendations of the majority, the minority directs its main attack against the allocation of twenty-seven seats to Southern Rhodesia and of the arbitrary allocation of so many seats to Europeans from Northern and Southern Rhodesia (twenty-seven).

Appendices VI and VII to the Report are published separately,<sup>1</sup> and comprise reports by committees of officials appointed to survey political, economic and social developments since 1953 and consider arguments for and against constitutional changes suggested.

Appendix VI describes the machinery of functions of the Governments and gives an economic survey of the period 1953-9. It includes numerous tables showing *inter alia* the growth of work of various Government departments, the social conditions in industry and the expenditure in each territory of Federal revenues.

Appendix VII reviews the extent to which adequate safeguards can be supplied by (a) a Bill of Rights; (b) judicial safeguards such as a constitutional prohibition of discrimination and (c) political safeguards such as the establishment of a second chamber or a Council of State. It also deals at length with the division of powers between the governments and the extent of control vested in the United Kingdom Government.

#### Comment in Africa

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, said the report was "a mixture of good and bad, of logical thinking and expediency". The recommendation that in certain circumstances the territories ought to have the right to secede was "completely unacceptable".

Mr. W. J. Field, Opposition leader in the Federal Parliament, said the report was a "bad one". If colour irrespective of merit were accepted in Parliament he "would have no option but to launch a campaign advising Southern Rhodesia to get out of federation". No association is acceptable which would result in Southern Rhodesia being dominated by the 'two northern territories. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 14.)

<sup>1</sup>H.M.S.O., Cmd. 1149 (£1 2s. 6d.) and Cmd. 1150 (5s.).

Sir Edgar Whitehead, Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, said that the forthcoming review must lead to permanent results: they could not take "the plant up by the roots every five years to see if it is still growing".

In the debate in the Federal Parliament, Sir Roy Welensky indicated that the Federal Government would not accept the Monckton Report's proposals on representation or on the transfer of powers to the territories. Mr. M. M. Hove (U.F.P. African member from Southern Rhodesia) described the report as riddled with inconsistencies.

In the Southern Rhodesia Parliament, the leader of the Opposition, Mr. W. J. Harper, said that if European control was lost in Southern Rhodesia, the position of Europeans in Southern Africa would become untenable.

Sir John Moffat, leader of the new Liberal Party in Northern Rhodesia, said that even the limited association recommended by the Report was more than the peoples of the Protectorates would accept.

Mr. John Roberts (U.F.P., Northern Rhodesia) said the Commission had misdirected itself on matters of major policy.

Mr. N. Blackwood (U.F.P., Nyasaland) said the Report was "a most unfortunate document".

Mr. A. Banda, of the Malawi Congress Party, said it made no difference and was a waste of time. "The Federation does not exist as far as we are concerned."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (October 12) said: "The position as we see it is this: African opposition to the Federation is undeniable and if provision for secession is not included in a new constitution, that opposition will increase and make good government impossible. Despite this recognition, the Commission advocates that secession should be agreed to only under certain conditions, one of which is that the seceding Territory should accept responsibility for its share of the public debt of the Federal Government."

"We believe Sir Roy will make the greatest blunder of his political career if he does not give ground and agree to negotiate on the secession issue. In any case it will be discussed. Will he insist that no decision may be put into practical effect without the consent of the voters of the Federation?"

"Sir Roy's stand is such that the people must more surely face up to the disintegration of the Federation: they must decide whether his dilemma is greater than the interests of the Federation as a whole."

*Die Transvaler* (October 13), the official paper of the South African Nationalist Party, said the Report was still more proof that territorial separation is the only possible policy in Africa. . . . It is proof that neither the Native majorities nor the White minorities will accept a plan for a multi-racial State if it is carried to its logical conclusion. . . . The Monckton proposals, in short, amount to the fact that the 300,000 Whites in the Central African Federation should be thrown to the wolves. What has already happened in the Congo and what is going to happen in the near future in Kenya and Tanganyika, will now also be the fate of the Whites of the Federation, if the British Government adopt the Report. Mr. Macmillan had already clearly shown that he regarded the Whites in Africa as expendable and it would not be a surprise if the Report was adopted.

The *Cape Argus* (October 12) said: "The proposals represent a necessary concession to the spirit of the age and a recognition of the dynamic force of African nationalism. To that extent they are a writing on the wall. We should do well to read, mark and remember."

### Comment in the British Press

*The Times*: Viscount Monckton and his commissioners "have shown intelligence, knowledge and vision".

*Daily Mirror*: "The Monckton findings point the only real way to peaceful progress in Central Africa. The Government must back the Report—whatever the protests from Sir Roy Welensky."

*Scotsman*: "Undeterred by the boycott of the Labour Party here and of Congress organizations in Central Africa, the Monckton Commission has done a magnificent job."

*Daily Express* said the Government should have thrown the Report on the fire.

*Guardian* said: "The question is whether the Europeans can make their promises of reform sound convincing enough for Africans to give federa-

tion another five years' trial. It will be disastrous if yet another constitution is imposed against their will, even with a right of secession granted. Every effort should be made by Europeans to think themselves into the logic of the situation which so far they have refused to accept; the situation is that these are predominantly African countries. In doing so they have the support and admiration of people overseas who do not have to grapple with the problem, if that is any consolation to them. The alternative is bleak while it lasts and bloody when it ends."

*Sunday Times* (October 16): "There are two essential conditions for success of a revised federation. One is constitutional reform at least as radical as is proposed by the majority of the Monckton Commission. The other is a revolution in regard to racial discrimination. If the coming months, including the Constitutional Review, fail to establish those conditions as facts, the Monckton recommendation of a once-for-all right of secession will be of no avail. It would be far better to face the fact that federation will no longer work, and to revert to the notion of separate destinies for its member territories. Some of the advantages and institutions of federation, though far from all, could be preserved by a different kind of association."

*The Observer* (October 16) called the report "Valuable and brave". Perhaps no form of close association between the three territories is now possible. That would be sad, but it need not be fatal. The economic advantages of federation can, in part, be had by a standing inter-governmental commission. Respect for law and order could be regained in the two northern territories, controlled by London, through constitutional reforms. And the damage to Britain's prestige caused by becoming associated exclusively with the settlers' interests could be repaired. More peace and better prospects for the area will be won by going slow than by again violating majority local opinion.

Mr. F. S. Joelson said (*Guardian*, October 21): "The verdict of the Commission is in conflict with the weight of the evidence which it records: a five or seven year hiatus, far from being a further time of fair test, would have exactly the reverse effect; and the idea of preparing to abandon the Federation must be regarded in Africa by White and Black alike as appeasement of the tiny majority of African politicians who first created opposition to the idea of a federation by misrepresentation and intimidation, who have waged their campaign by the same disreputable methods, and who are far more concerned to achieve political power for themselves than to maintain, let alone improve, the wellbeing of the millions of their fellows whom it is Britain's first duty to protect."

The Executive of the Africa Bureau welcomed the Report of the Monckton Commission which, it said, put beyond controversy the true facts about the situation in the Central African Federation. For seven years, its Government, with the support of the British Government, have steadily held to the mistaken belief that partnership is succeeding, and that the federal experiment was being justified. The Monckton Report fully upholds the critics of the Federation. Its verdict that the Federation itself has become a hated word sums up its findings. Whether the Federation will, or can, survive in the new design proposed by the Commission is a question for the leaders of all races in Central Africa to decide.

Our concern is that the policy of the British Government and Parliament, having taken the wrong turning in 1953 in imposing federation against the overwhelming opposition of the African people, the British Parliament must resolve never again to accept a solution that does not rest on consent. The Monckton Report emphasizes over and over again that there is no effective alternative to consent. They specifically repudiate the idea of trying to hold the Federation together by force. The key sentence in the Report is the Commission's view: "Finally, we are convinced that no form of federal association, however reformed, can succeed so long as many of its people feel that they are being kept in it against their will and can break out only by force." This strongly expressed view held unanimously by the Commission must determine future British policy in Central Africa, if past follies are not to become future disasters.

The Federal Review Conference opens in London on December 5.

### Federal High Commissioner

Sir Gilbert Rennie, who retires in April 1961, will be succeeded as High Commissioner for the Federation in the United Kingdom by Mr. A. E. P.

Robinson. Mr. Robinson, who will serve for two years, is chairman of Central African Airways, a director of factory companies, banks and building societies. He was a member of the Monckton Commission. He was born and educated in South Africa where he was in Parliament from 1949 to 1952 as a member of the United Party under the leadership of General Smuts. (*Federation Newsletter*, October 14.)

## Citizenship and Residence

After applying for Federal citizenship more than six months ago, Dr. Terence Ranger, lecturer of history at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and his wife, Shelagh, were advised by the Registrar of Citizenship on September 26 that their applications to be registered as citizens of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had been refused by the Minister of Home Affairs, Sir Malcolm Barrow. (*Federation Newsletter*, October 7.) The *Rhodesia Herald* (September 28) said: "Perhaps only 'yes men' are considered suitable for citizenship, not persons who associate themselves with movements that established authority may not be happy about?"

"If the political views and actions of Dr. and Mrs. Ranger are the reason for the Government's refusal, then indeed the Federation has come to a sorry stage. We dislike some of the views of this man and his wife, but so far as we are aware they have not been convicted of any crime against the laws of the Federation—and the multiplicity of the laws is such that whichever way one turns these days, there is always the possibility of breaking the law!"

"If Dr. Ranger (or his wife) is a bad hat, then bring him before the courts, so that justice may be done. But do not, we implore the Government, hide behind laws which prevent the courts from dealing with executive actions."

"The refusal comes only a week or so after the start of the Federation's publicity campaign in Britain, a campaign guided by expert publicity consultants and designed to tell the world the facts about the Federation. We will be interested to see how the facts will be put across when dealing with the case of Dr. and Mrs. Ranger. In the meantime we can well imagine hair-tearing antics by the consultants."

"Mr. Michael Faber, formerly a lecturer at the University College, who was refused a residence permit, has instituted proceedings for slander against the Minister." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 10.)

## Parties in Central Africa

### Federal

**United Federal Party:** Governing Party; leader, Sir Roy Welensky. The main points of policy are: To build a strong and prosperous state which will remain a Commonwealth bastion in Central Africa, imbued with the British traditions of justice, freedom, and loyalty to the Crown; to ensure that the Federal Territorial Governments are retained for all time in the hands of civilized, responsible people; to obtain full membership of the Commonwealth in the shortest possible time; with this end in view, to maintain Southern Rhodesia's present status and rights within the Federation and to insist on the removal of the remaining reservations in the constitution affecting Southern Rhodesia; and to press for an improved status in both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with a view to the establishment of systems of responsible government. The Party has forty-six seats in the Federal Parliament.

**Federal Dominion Party:** Leader, Mr. Winston Field. The Party, which has eight seats in the Federal House, continues to support and advocate a Central African Alliance founded on an economic basis. This envisages dominion of Southern Rhodesia and the parts most densely populated by Europeans in which European interests and leadership would predominate. There would be satellite Black states in the rest of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

### Southern Rhodesia

**United Federal Party:** Leader, Sir Edgar Whitehead. The Party holds seventeen seats in Parliament where it governs. The principles are the same as those of the Federal Party.

**Dominion Party:** Leader, Mr. W. J. Harper. The Party pursues a policy

of "Southern Rhodesia first" and strongly favours retention of the Land Apportionment Act.

**Central Africa Party:** Leader, Mr. Ralph Palmer. Aims at putting an end to all racial discrimination, at establishing freedom and justice, and ensuring security and progress for all people. The Party is in a state of flux after the resignation of Mr. Garfield Todd and other leaders.

**Progressive Party:** A newcomer to the scene with a multi-racial organization and a policy of equality of opportunity, placing the emphasis on individuals regardless of colour. At present governed by an *ad hoc* committee.

**National Democratic Party:** Leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo. The Party's policy is "one man one vote", removing all forms of oppression. It does not believe that a small minority is better able to govern than a majority.

**Southern Rhodesia Party:** Leader, Dr. A. Palley, M.P., who broke away from the Dominion Party last year. The Party aims at serving the "people of Southern Rhodesia within Southern Rhodesia", and supports the return of many responsibilities from Federal to colony's control.

**New Rhodesia Party:** Newly formed under Mr. Maurice Fisher, the Party advocates dominion status within the Commonwealth. It is also pledged to give every assistance in freeing Northern Rhodesia from colonial rule.

**Confederate Party:** Recently revived, the Party is opposed to any form of racial integration, and advocates the colony's joining with South Africa. Leader, Mr. Stanley Gurland.

### Northern Rhodesia

**United Federal Party:** Leader, Mr. John Roberts. The same principles as the Federal Party.

**Central African Party:** The Party aims at abolishing all racial discrimination.

**Federal Dominion Party:** Supports Central African Alliance plan. Led by Mr. G. F. N. Van Eeden.

**African National Congress:** Led by Mr. Harry Nkimbula, the Party is vigorously opposed to federation and seeks a democratic constitution based on acceptance of adult universal franchise on the principle of "one man one vote".

**United National Independence Party:** Leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda. The Party seeks to break up the Federation by lawful means, and if that fails, by taking the matter to the United Nations.

### Nyasaland

**United Federal Party:** Led by Mr. A. C. W. Dixon, its principles are the same as those of the Federal Party.

**Central Africa Party:** Same principles as other branches. Led by Mr. C. R. Kumbikano.

**Malawi Congress Party:** Led by Dr. Hastings Banda, the Party aims at achieving self-government for Nyasaland and secession from the Federation. It is the strongest party in Nyasaland.

**Congress Liberation Party:** Led by Mr. T. D. T. Banda, it believes in ties with the Federation.

## British M.P.s Support Federation

Three Conservative and three Labour M.P.s who have been touring the Federation said that federation must continue: there was outright intimidation in Nyasaland; a one-man-one-vote system was not practical immediately; Africans were not yet ready to take over the government of the country; there was a genuinely liberal spirit prevailing throughout the Federation.

The five M.P.s are Captain F. J. Bellenger (Labour), Mr. Robert Jenkins (Conservative), Mr. George Deer (Labour), Mr. George Rogers (Labour) and Mr. Anthony Fell (Conservative).

While all members of the Party stressed that federation must continue, the Labour group particularly made the point that there were various forms in which it could. They said: "We think federation is the *sine qua non* of improvement, advancement and progress."

Asked for their views on the proposition that federation should continue on a five-year trial basis, the Labour spokesmen said: "It would be



unwise to do something that can be revoked constitutionally in five years' time. The settlement should be now and lasting, so far as anything can be lasting in such a volatile situation as you have got in Nyasaland."

Mr. Fell also said: "Sir Roy Welensky must be given full backing for his plans for bringing prosperity and advancement to the peoples of the three territories. He knows more about the problems to which he has devoted his life than Whitehall." He roundly attacked British statesmen for "gambling with 'winds of change'". (*Federal Newsletter*, October 7.)

Dr. Banda attacked the M.P.s for their attitude and said: "If the British Government is stupid enough to keep my country and my people in the stupid Federation, they will have to use Prussian, or should I say Rhodesian, jackboots and soldiers." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 4.)

## EAST AFRICA Kenya

### Registration of Voters<sup>1</sup>

MORE than 1 million Kenyans registered for the next election in forty-four constituencies with two Northern Province constituencies still to be added. The percentage of those eligible to vote who have registered varied greatly from district to district: officials estimated there was a turnout of 95 per cent in the North Nyanza seat, and 68 per cent for Nyanza Province; the average for the four Kikuyu districts of Kiambu, Nyeri, Embu and Meru was estimated at 50 per cent.

A heavy Asian turnout in the last few days of registration failed to give Asians a majority in any of the Asian reserve seats, except for the three Nairobi constituencies and one in Mombasa. On the whole European registration for the reserve seats followed predictions. The total of 9,405 in the Nairobi reserve seats was "certainly as much as expected", the Nairobi District Commissioner said. The estimated electorate of Nairobi was between 25,000 and 30,000.

An analysis made public on October 14 showed that in European reserved seats<sup>2</sup> in Nairobi, Europeans outnumber other races by two to one and four to one in two of the seats. In the third Europeans were outnumbered by less than 400. Until this announcement registrations had shown an overwhelming majority of African registrations in European seats. "Other races" outnumbered Europeans by ten to one in the Rift Valley and North Kenya, by five to one in West Kenya and Nairobi Central Rural, and four to one in Kericho. Only in Mombasa East did Europeans dominate European seats. The Nairobi figures showed a failure by K.A.N.U. to get its Nairobi supporters to register in the Nairobi European reserve constituencies rather than in their home constituencies. But K.A.N.U. leaders, happy with other registrations, were not worried. "The figures simply reflect the fact of segregation in residence," Tom Mboya said. (*Guardian*, October 15.)

### Political Tension

A tribal clash at a K.A.N.U. meeting on November 5 resulted in the death of one Kikuyu and the wounding of some twenty Kikuyu and Masai. The meeting was held at Ngong within the Masai reserve and was the first in the election campaign for the February elections. Though the Masai are known to be supporters of K.A.D.U. in the main, it was hoped that there would be support in Ngong, which is a border area, with many tribesmen of mixed blood and pure Kikuyu living among the Masai.

After the meeting, Mr. James Gichuru (K.A.N.U.'s president) and Mr. Tom Mboya (general secretary) issued statements accusing K.A.D.U. of planting Masai in the audience to disrupt the meeting. They also accused administrative officers of complicity in the matter and declared that they intended taking the law into their own hands at future meetings by forming a corps of volunteers to keep order, "armed if necessary". Leaders of K.A.D.U. disclaimed responsibility for the incident and the Kenya Government issued a statement virtually putting the blame on the K.A.N.U. leaders, as organizers of the meeting, and warning them against attempting to usurp the functions of the police by using force at meetings.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 2.

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST VII, 5.

Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, Minister for Commerce, strongly criticized the proposal for raising a security force in K.A.N.U. He said he thought the Ngong battle had been inspired by K.A.D.U., and said he would press for an inquiry, but he still wanted the two parties to come together and form a united front. (*The Times*, November 7.)

On November 7, leaders of K.A.N.U., including Mr. James Gichuru and Mr. Tom Mboya, attended the funeral of the Kikuyu who was killed. Among a crowd of 300 were a number of Masai. Meanwhile in Nairobi five men and a woman were remanded in custody on charges of damaging furniture in K.A.D.U.'s Nairobi office, and of assaulting an official of the Party.

Mr. Muliro blamed K.A.N.U. leaders for encouraging lorry-loads of Kikuyu to enter Masailand for the meeting. Mr. Keen said that K.A.D.U. would not form private armies because they were peaceful people; "but if K.A.N.U. wants a war, they can have it".

Mr. Gichuru modified his previous attitude by praising the prompt action of the police in averting further bloodshed. He denied suggestions in the Government statement that the responsibility for the incident was his, as licensee of the meeting, saying that he had done all in his power to keep order and had earlier drawn the attention of the administration to the fact that trouble was likely. He said that he had called one of the Masai a fool, but added that this was because the man was inciting warriors to break up the meeting. He said that after his remark the interruptions ceased and he was allowed to finish his speech. (*The Times*, November 8.)

Mr. Mboya called upon Mr. Ngala to disband K.A.D.U. to avoid further trouble, saying that he did not agree with the K.A.D.U. leaders on the need for an opposition in Kenya. Mr. Mboya stated that in the United Kingdom there were no parties when Britain was fighting against Germany. Mr. Mboya stated Mr. Gichuru had been twice to London and that there was now a good understanding with the Colonial Secretary. "If you elect K.A.N.U. candidates," he said, "we will go to Government House and tell the Governor their time is over." Mr. Mboya then said that if K.A.N.U. formed the first Government it planned to fight illiteracy, poverty and disease. (*Kenya Weekly News*, November 11.)

### Jomo Kenyatta

A boycott called to observe "Kenyatta Day" by the Kenya African National Union went off quietly. Mr. Mboya, the Party's general secretary, walked with other Party officials in procession through Nairobi to Government House to present an open letter to Sir Patrick Renison, the Governor, demanding Jomo Kenyatta's release.

Mr. Mboya said he had no doubt that if Kenyatta were released he would play an important role, if not the leading role, in East Africa. "No Government," he added, "in which Africans have an effective voice can consider the continuation of Kenyatta's detention. He will have to be released to be Prime Minister of Kenya." (*The Times*, October 21.)

The *Kenya Sunday Post* (October 23), which normally holds right wing views, stated in an editorial: "It would be better for Kenya and for a tranquil floating of the new constitution if the decision on Kenyatta was made now. We can only believe that the authorities would be well advised to give Kenyatta his freedom, despite what has been said and done in the past. . . . The Kenyatta issue is the last stick with which the Nationalists can beat the other races in this country and with their tendency to adopt perennial postures of grievance and to blame others for their troubles, they are inclined to make too much of it. Take away the Kenyatta issue and they will realize that they have no alternative but to start working on long awaited progressive policies for the future welfare of this country."

On his return from Europe to Kenya, Mr. James Gichuru, president of K.A.N.U., said that one of the reasons for continued tension was the restriction of Jomo Kenyatta. He was continuing discussions with the Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, on the subject of Kenyatta's release "among many other things". Asked whether Mr. Macleod had given his views on the release of Kenyatta, Mr. Gichuru said: "No conclusion has been reached but the whole question is so well advanced that it is a question of finalizing it here. I would not say that any definite date has been made." (*Guardian*, October 31.)

Mr. M. Muliro, deputy leader of K.A.D.U., stated in London that it

was the view of his Party that Kenyatta and all other African detainees should be released before the Colony's general election, due to be held under the new constitution in February. They should be allowed to stand as candidates. In the case of Kenyatta "whatever seat he chose to contest, we would not oppose him, even if he stood under the K.A.N.U. label". (*Guardian*, November 2.)

On his return to Kenya Mr. M. Muliro claimed that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had told him that Kenya might be able to have an African Chief Minister in 1961. He said that he and Mr. John Keen, K.A.D.U.'s secretary, had been told by Mr. Macleod that an adjustment to the Lancaster House constitution to allow this could be made after the February elections without a new conference being held. Members of other parties were guarded in their comment. Only Mr. Zafrud Deen, president of the Kenya Muslim League, said unreservedly that the early appointment of an African Chief Minister would be a good idea. Mr. Mboya reiterated that K.A.N.U. policy was still to seek discussions on a date for complete independence after the election. Officials of the Kenya Coalition and the New Kenya Party refused to comment. (*The Times*, November 8.)

### Restriction Order Revoked

The Kenya Government announced that a restriction order on Mr. Walter Odede, a veteran African Nationalist leader, had been revoked. Mr. Odede had been restricted to his home district of Central Nyanza since April 21. Before that he lived for many years under a restriction order in exile from his home district. The order provided that he should not take part in politics or belong to any political organization. (*The Times*, October 14.)

It was understood that Mr. Odede, who succeeded Kenyatta as president of the Kenya African Union, intended to return to politics. Mr. Oginga Odinga announced that he would not stand down at the general election to make way for the candidature of Mr. Odede. (*East African Standard*, October 14.)

### Overseas Confidence

At a press conference in London Mr. Tom Mboya referred to the earlier visit of Mr. James Gichuru, president of K.A.N.U. He said: "I am very impressed by the visit to this country of Mr. Gichuru and the confidence which it has built among investors in Kenya. The question of confidence and the need for us to reassure investors in order to promote a continuous flow of capital while at the same time achieving the maximum political development has been recognized since the Lancaster House Conference in February. K.A.N.U. is conscious of the importance of rapid economic development and that that depends upon capital investment and skill continuing to come from Britain and other countries."

"K.A.N.U. will do what it can to ensure that conditions are created and maintained which will instil confidence and guarantee security for investors and for the persons whom we need in these developments. We are as much interested in stability and the maintenance of law and order as are Europeans or other people in Kenya." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 6.)

Returning to Kenya after a six-week tour of Europe two Kenya Ministers announced promises that aid missions from the Governments of West Germany, Holland and Switzerland would shortly visit Kenya. Mr. Bruce McKenzie, the Minister of Agriculture, and Mr. Wilfred Havelock, Minister of Local Government, said: "It is obvious that the European countries have awoken to the immediate importance of the African continent and the urgent need to develop and raise the standard of living in African territories. We were able to impress on the Governments of these countries the extreme importance of Kenya's role in emergent Africa."

The Ministers strongly attacked Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck and his Kenya Coalition for the harm they did to Kenya's name during their London visit. The conjectures the Coalition delegation had offered about what would happen in an independent Kenya had perplexed many in the City of London, they said; and perplexity had turned to consternation when the Coalition, having posed as a non-partisan group, later revealed that it was entering the coming elections in alliance with the right

wing United Party. The situation had been redeemed, they thought, by the encouraging and responsible speeches of Mr. James Gichuru and Mr. Tom Mboya, president and secretary of the Kenya African National Union, during recent visits to Germany and Britain. (*Guardian*, October 29.)

But an editorial in the *Kenya Weekly News* (November 11) said that Mr. Mboya was making speeches promising the earth to gullible voters in order to secure their votes at an election. It was yet another of the irresponsible speeches by African leaders which make it so difficult to restore confidence in the future of Kenya. It will tend to counter the good impression recently made by the reassuring speeches of Mr. J. Gichuru. Mr. Mboya is a very good speaker and an able politician, but there are times when he gives the impression that he is a rash young man in a hurry for power at any price.

### African Leaders Deny Split

Speaking at a week-end meeting in Nairobi of the Kenya African National Union, Mr. Mboya, the general secretary, told a crowd of nearly 3,000 that the Party's policy statement to be published in two or three weeks, would reassure investors and restore confidence in Kenya. He denied reports that delay in publication was due to splits in the leadership. Alleging that Europeans and Asians were giving financial assistance to the rival party, the Kenya African Democratic Union, in the hope that it would destroy K.A.N.U., he said that all chance of a happy and prosperous Kenya would be ended if they and other "propagandists" were successful.

Mr. Oginga Odinga also denied that there had been any "squabbles". He was angry at reports that he intended to form his own political party. Rumours nevertheless persisted that extremists led by Mr. Odinga had fought for two days for supremacy in K.A.N.U. The policy on land and property recently adopted by Mr. Mboya and the Party president, Mr. Gichuru, during and since their recent visits to London was said to be under fire from the extremists, who are understood to have demanded a declaration of no compromise stating in particular that all land in Kenya belongs to Africans. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 20.)

### Land Development

At a preliminary conference in Nairobi the Colony's progress in land reforms and development was outlined by the deputy chief secretary, Mr. R. O. Hennings. His audience contained delegates from many African countries who were attending a conference in Uganda on land tenure problems in East and Central Africa. The conference had been arranged by the Food and Agriculture Organization of U.N.O.

He said: "Over the last five or six years about 2 million acres, or 3,000 square miles, have been enclosed in the individual ownership of just over 200,000 farmers, of which so far 137,000 have registered titles." During the past year, Mr. Hennings went on, a total of over £50,000 had been lent to individual African farmers on the security of registered title to land. A large part of this had come from commercial banks. Last year, commercial banks lent £300,000 to African co-operative marketing societies for marketing their crops. During the six years from 1954 to 1959, the value of recorded sales of African crops and livestock increased from £6½ million to over £9 million. "This figure is likely to be still larger this year."

The total area of good mixed farming land in the fertile high rainfall areas of Kenya was a little under 37,000 square miles. Of this area, the Africans occupied 32,000 square miles. The balance of 4,700 square miles was farmed by immigrant farmers, mostly Europeans. Mr. Hennings continued: "This relatively small portion, roughly one-seventh, yields nearly one-half of the total agricultural production measured in terms of monetary value and this includes no less than four-fifths of exportable surplus."

Under-population was one factor which had prevented the full development of African areas. If the whole African population of 6 million—say 1 million families—were evenly distributed over the 32,000 square miles of high potential land, every family would have over 15 acres of good mixed farming land. The African population, however, was not evenly distributed. Areas of heavy population lay alongside areas belonging to another tribe which had only a moderate or a sparse population. (*Kenya Newsletter*, October 11.)



A Kenya farmers' delegation visited London to put their case to the Colonial Secretary. It consisted of Major F. Day, a member of the Kenya Legislature, Mr. J. H. Hughes, a tenant farmer, and Mrs. Billie Nightingale, a second generation Kenyan whose father was one of the pioneer settlers in the White Highlands. Major Day, their spokesman, said: "We want to be realistic. We are terrified that the same mistakes will be made in our country that occurred in the Congo. We earnestly believe that Kenya will be in ruins unless something is done." Major Day intended to ask the Colonial Secretary to examine the possibility of the British Government's underwriting land values by some sort of guarantee scheme. In recent auctions, farms had been sold for as little as £1,700 when they had been worth £15,000 a year ago. He suggested that if land values could be underwritten for about ten years, "that would be long enough for the African Government to realize the importance of the European farmer in the Kenya economy and adopt a realistic attitude to him". (*Guardian*, November 5.)

### The Coastal Strip

The Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, announced at a bazaar at Lamu that a conference was likely to be held to decide the future status of the coastal strip that forms the Protectorate of Kenya. This is leased to Britain by the Sultan of Zanzibar under a treaty signed in 1895. African nationalists have persistently demanded that it be integrated with Kenya Colony so that the whole can become an independent country but this is opposed by the Arabs and by Swahilis of mixed Arab and African descent on the ground that they do not want to be ruled by the upcountry tribes. The Governor said that he had received a petition from the Arabs stating that, as citizens of the Sultan of Zanzibar, they strongly objected to integration of the coastal strip with the rest of Kenya. In reply, the Governor, said he had already asked a delegation of Arab leaders whom he had seen in Mombasa to let him have their views in writing. He added that it was the British purpose to lead the people of the Commonwealth to be responsible for their own affairs, "but this does not mean that we intend to abandon our friends".

He recalled that earlier he had declared that a condition of the handing over of power would be the conclusion of satisfactory arrangements between the Sultan, the British Government, and the Kenya Government. After next year's elections he would confront his new Government immediately with such problems as the coastal strip, and when he had their reactions he would advise the British Government. They would then be able to discuss with the Sultan the best arrangements to make for the future.

Sir Patrick added that the question of a future federation of East African territories and Zanzibar, and the future of the East Africa High Commission would no doubt be involved in the conference. "These things must be settled in a proper way," he said. "Great Britain will not allow them to be swept aside."

An Arab spokesman told the Governor that Lamu had been under the Sultan for 150 years, and that before that it was an independent republic. The petition said: "We have never been under the rule of either the up-country people or any other nation. . . . We prefer our present Government and would never agree to subjection by the upcountry people." (*The Times*, September 14.)

### New Speaker

Mr. Humphrey Slade is the first elected member of the Legislature of Kenya to be made Speaker. The new Deputy Speaker is Mr. Jeremiah Nyagah. The official announcement said that Mr. Slade and Mr. Nyagah had been appointed with the agreement of all the political parties.

Mr. Nyagah has been considered one of the moderate African nationalists. Mr. Slade is popular among the members of the Legislative Council of all races. He succeeds Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, who resigned in March in protest against the results of the Lancaster House Conference on Kenya. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 27.)

### Education

#### Students for America

On September 11, 140 students, mostly from Kenya, left Nairobi for the United States, to take up courses at universities and colleges. The

airlift was arranged by the Afro-American Student's Foundation, of which Mr. Tom Mboya is director in East Africa. On September 12, another seventy students left. The journey was partly financed by a gift of £35,000 from the Kennedy Foundation in America. The Aga Khan also made a gift of £5,000 and the rest of the money was raised locally by donations from Asian businessmen and collections in African reserves. (*The Times*, September 12.)

### Racial Integration

The Limuru Girls School announced that it will be opened to girls of other races from next January 1. As a start a number of vacancies will be offered to African girls of sixth form standard. The headmistress, Miss Veronica Owen, explained that the school had never had a clause in its constitution which excluded girls other than Europeans, but the school board had decided to make it clear that there might be a change of practice.

Mr. Graham Clark, chairman of the school board of the Duke of York School, one of the colony's two leading boys' schools, announced that he was convening a special meeting of the council of chairmen of the boards of governors of Kenya's schools to discuss the opening of the colony's secondary schools to Non-Europeans. (*The Times*, October 26.)

Alan Moor writing in the *Kenya Weekly News* (November 11) commented: "The Limuru Girls' School is to pioneer an experiment of great significance to the New Kenya. Other European schools in the country are expected to follow suit."

"There has been considerable emotional reaction to this revolutionary change of outlook, and not unnaturally so, but the time is here to make an unemotional assessment of the implications involved. Some educational integration of Kenya's polyglot society is clearly implicit in the Lancaster House settlement, which signposts our future line of advance. The only question is how this can best be accomplished. The Government, and a large body of the progressive public, believes that the way should be gradually through the Boards of Governors considering and sifting applications for entry into what were formerly 'European', but will now probably be labelled 'high standard', schools on sheer merit academically, in conformity with the accepted age groups, and socially in accordance with upbringing and home backgrounds. . . .

"There is no question of the Government exerting pressure on the Boards to admit any pupil on racial grounds and it is not visualized that, for the present, the proportion of dilution will be greater than it is at any English school. Among the practical factors which it is considered will ensure this are the financial one that fees have to be paid and the psychological one that all parents sending their children to 'high standard' schools can be expected to be jealous of a school's reputation and its continuing capacity to provide the type of education they are seeking for their children."

"The acting general secretary of the Kenya National Union of Teachers has had something to say on that financial point: that while the principle of admitting Africans to European schools was acceptable its implementation would not be so until at least 50 per cent of the pupils were African. He is reported to have said that, because the fees at European schools were high, adequate bursaries should be awarded by the central and local governments to ensure that this objective is attained. This cuts right across the Government's policy; it has deliberately not laid down any racial proportions for these schools and I am officially informed that it could not afford to provide bursaries and scholarships on the scale suggested. . . .

"I am told that the headmasters and headmistresses concerned are unanimously in favour of the principle of admitting Non-European children. They differ only on the question of the age at which this should be permitted. Some feel that they should be accepted, at first, at the sixth-form level and others that they should enter the school at the bottom, straight from primary school. An argument against the former is that they would be at the prefect stage and might not be able to exercise the authority entailed, but opposed to that is the opinion that they would probably be more readily assimilated into the maturer strata of a school and the practical consideration that there are more vacancies available at the sixth-form stage. From the point of view of personal relationships it might be found best to admit Non-Europeans at the top in girls' schools and at the bottom in the boys', with the general intention of extending the principle

to all levels as soon as this is shown by experience and adjustment to be practicable."

### Minister's Plea for Inter-Racial Friendship

In the course of a speech to the Mombasa Rotary Club, Dr. J. G. Kiano, the Minister for Commerce and Industry, said: "We Africans look forward to full independence as an exciting challenge. We are very conscious of the difficulties, the great responsibilities we shall carry, and the need to carry out those responsibilities efficiently and effectively. We fully appreciate the need for co-operation with other communities in and out of Kenya, to ensure that the inevitable changes in the control of our country's affairs result in a clear benefit to the country as a whole.

"To those who will assist in building an independent, prosperous, and peaceful Kenya we offer our heartfelt friendship. They will, in co-operation with us, share the task of moulding our country into a free nation, in which all men, irrespective of race or creed, can live as free men and work together in happiness and equality. . . .

"The communities which make up the population of Kenya are completely interdependent in the economic field. The country cannot afford any form of racial prejudice. People must play their part as individuals in a society in which there will be no barriers of race or creed.

"To achieve and maintain high standards of political leadership and rapid but stable transition to self-government, Kenya needs more reconciliation and tolerance between the various political and ethnic groups, in the place of hate and strife that some people engage in. What is required is maximum unity, tolerance, or co-operation among our different political groups for the achievement of independence, the establishment of genuine democracy, and for the expansion of our economy to meet the higher standards of living that all our people require. If we all want to see these aims realized in Kenya what good is it to fight among ourselves as bitter opponents when deep down in our hearts we cherish the same goals?"

### British Troops

In Nairobi Lord Mountbatten, Chief of the British Defence Staff, assured a press conference that he had come to Kenya with "no nuclear bases up my sleeve". He said the main object of his visit was to see the British forces in the colony and get an on-the-spot idea of their problems. He added: "I should like to state that I am not here to deal with political problems." (*The Times*, September 26.)

Addressing a K.A.D.U. rally, Mr. Towett, the Assistant Minister for Agriculture, stated that all thirty-three Africans who would be elected to the Legislative Council next March would call for the closing of Nakuru airfield, where men of Britain's strategic reserve are at present camped. (*The Times*, October 24.)

### Mau Mau

In a magistrate's court in Nairobi, Kolonelio Gathungu Earnest, a Kikuyu, was charged with assisting in the management of an unlawful society—the Mau Mau—between January 1953 and April 1960, and with being a member of the Mau Mau. He pleaded not guilty.

Assistant Superintendent H. H. Mainprice, prosecuting, told the Court: "It is the Crown's contention that the society known as Mau Mau is still active in Nairobi, and that the accused had an active part in it." He said when Kolonelio was arrested in April 6 there was a letter in his possession headed: "Land Freedom Army General Headquarters, Nairobi, Kenya Parliament." Mr. Mainprice said the "Land Freedom Army" was another name for Mau Mau.

In an unsworn statement Kolonelio said that he had already been detained for his part in Mau Mau and had confessed and repented. He had since decided not to take part in unlawful societies. He claimed that the police had arrested the wrong man, had beaten him up, and had placed a letter on him in order to bring false charges against him. (*Guardian*, September 20.)

On September 21, Kolonelio was found guilty. In his judgement the magistrate referred to the letter found in his possession. He said it was addressed to "those people who are forming secret organizations", and after giving certain instructions ended with a request for a reply. It was

obvious that the recipients were deeply involved in the movement. He added that the letter bore the significant date of February this year, which was soon after Kolonelio had been released from detention just after the lifting of the emergency. He described Kolonelio as a "thug inclined to violence and even to killing if necessary". (*The Times*, September 22.)

Seventeen Africans arrested in Nairobi in July during a sweep through the city to clear away Mau Mau and trouble-making elements were released on October 14. The Kenya Government announcement said the releases were made in view of the generally improved situation. The remaining fifty-five Africans arrested in "Operation Milltown" remain in custody for the time being. (*Guardian*, October 18.)

### Communist Danger

On October 26 immigration officials searched and seized the passport of Mr. Oginga Odinga, vice-president of the Kenya African National Party (K.A.N.U.). Mr. Odinga had been in Peking and was reported to have said there that the Mau Mau rebellion was "a glorious liberation movement".

On October 28, Mr. Arthur Ochwada, deputy secretary-general of K.A.N.U., returned from spending a month between East Berlin, Moscow and Peking. His diaries and papers were removed and searched for nearly two hours and his passport was confiscated. In the Legislative Council Mr. Tom Mboya gave notice of a motion to discuss this.

The Acting Chief Secretary Mr. Griffith Jones, did not mention any names but stated: "Hitherto the Government has, by constant vigilance, been able to prevent the incursion of significant Communist influence into Kenya. It is, however, deeply concerned at the number of visits to Communist countries recently made by people from Kenya. Students, many without academic qualifications to fit them for advanced studies, are being diverted to educational institutions in Communist countries.

"Such a development constitutes a major threat to Kenya's future security. Future Governments would, if the drift towards Communist associations is not checked, be faced with comparatively large numbers of students returning after indoctrination and training in Communist subversion techniques. The Government considers it would be failing in its duty to its successors if it facilitated travel on British passports to countries whose declared intentions are to extend Communist influence throughout the world."

Mr. Ochwada issued a reply stating: "Are Mr. Odinga and I to be considered as students? We are members of one of the successor governments Mr. Griffiths Jones talks about. We need to travel to these countries to find out what is good and what is evil about Communism. I did not go to Peking to get a blueprint of Communism; I went to see what life was like there." (*Guardian*, October 29.)

## Somali Republic

### New Government's Programme

THE Prime Minister, Dr. Abdulrashid Ali Sharmarke, in a long address to the National Assembly on August 13 outlined the programme which his Government will follow. He pointed out that it was necessary to achieve economic independence and that Government policy would be directed towards that end. He stated: "The future of the country is linked up with a balanced, gradual, realistic and substantial economic development; it is so because, in the first place, if a nation's economy is continuously dependent on foreign aid, she cannot be considered as really independent, and in the second place, because the realization of an effective social justice, intended to diminish the disparity existing between the different areas, categories and citizens, is really the indispensable prerequisite for a well-ordered civil life and, above all, for establishing that sense of human and national solidarity which, more than any other political or juridical element, becomes a cement of union, brotherhood and peace."

On the problem of tribalism he said that: "The Government intends to carry on the policy of the previous governments, and also to introduce

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the necessary legislation aiming at the elimination of the old tribal system and its substitution by a new consciousness and a new social system which is truly national. We do not conceal from ourselves the difficulties to be overcome, especially as far as the nomadic population is concerned, but the Government, also in accordance with the Constitution, will make every possible effort for the successful completion of such an action."

Referring to defence he said that "Somalia repudiates war as a means for solving international disputes. The National Army, which was recently established by this Assembly and is already in an advanced stage of preparation (and which has also been integrated with the Somaliland Scouts), has the only purpose of safeguarding the security and the defence of the Somali State, and of securing our borders. . . . The National Army has limited possibilities of development owing to lack of budgetary resources, and therefore the Government intends to aim more at quality than at quantity."

He thanked the Italian Government and people who so scrupulously carried out and terminated the Trusteeship Mandate committed to them by U.N.O.; and also the British Government for having consented to grant without delay, independence to Somaliland, thus allowing the achievement on July 1 of the Somali Republic. (*Somaliland News*, August 29.)

In a speech on September 15 at Hargeisa, the Prime Minister dealt at length with boundary problems. "If you look at the map you will find the boundary line between us and the Ethiopians stretches as far down as Doloh. When we talk of the boundary dispute with Ethiopia we must name three boundaries. The first involves the Haud and Reserved Areas—all Somali territory which was ceded recently by Britain to Ethiopia. That cession will never be recognized by the Somali Government. Again, the boundary line of the Somali territory formerly ruled by the Italians did not run according to the old accepted border. The border dispute between the Italians and the Ethiopians started at Walwal, and Walwal is 200 miles from the present boundary line. The second boundary involves the Reserved Areas, the Haud, and the territory ruled by Italy before the war. This is the boundary which we say was the one which suited the colonial powers. The third boundary is the one which we consider to be the right and legitimate one. It is the one which embraces all the land inhabited by the Somali people, and is the one at which we aim and hope to achieve. In our claim for this boundary we are not oppressing any governments. Oppression is being done by those who have our land and refuse to return it to us."

He went on to say that "the Foreign Minister Abdullahi Esa will shortly go on an overseas tour, and that already part of his delegation has gone ahead to New York. One of the matters with which the delegation will be concerned is the application by the Somali Republic for admission to the United Nations. . . . The delegation will then visit London, where discussions will take place on the question of the Northern Frontier District. From there, the delegation will visit Paris where they hope to meet General de Gaulle and discuss with him the return of Djibouti. We will inquire why the French Government has not given us back that territory. We can see no economic reasons supporting French occupation because they are spending more on the port than what they are getting from it. Their stay also cannot be justified on political grounds. Djibouti is part of Africa, and Africa is now being freed."

He continued that: "It is unfortunate that Ethiopia, being an African nation and our neighbour, could fail to understand, as other nations have understood, the aspirations of our nation. It is again unfortunate that the Ethiopian Government should over the past eighty years have participated with Britain, France and Italy over the division of the Somali territories. Today it remains deaf to the demands of the Somali people for their land." (*Somaliland News*, September 19.)

At Nairobi Airport on November 12, Dr. Abdurashid Ali Sharmarke called for a referendum among the Somalis of Kenya's northern province to decide their future. He stated that his Foreign Minister had raised this question with Lord Home, the British Foreign Secretary, in New York recently. The Prime Minister said that Somalia did not want to annex any territory, but it was hoped that a Greater Somalia would be formed by "peaceful and legal means". It was also hoped to open diplomatic negotiations with Ethiopia to solve the border problem with that country. (*The Times*, November 14.)

# Tanganyika

## Independence in Sight

OPENING the first session of the new Legislative Council, the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, gave no timetable for full independence but said the Secretary of State, Mr. Macleod, would hold a Tanganyika constitutional conference in London at the beginning of March to discuss steps to be taken to prepare for independence and the end of the trusteeship agreement. (*Guardian*, October 12.)

On October 19 the Chief Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere, announced that Her Majesty's Government has agreed to put a resolution to the current meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, seeking the Assembly's authority to the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement with Tanganyika, the termination to take effect from a date to be subsequently agreed between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Tanganyika. He explained that he had been authorized by His Excellency the Governor to say that Sir Richard Turnbull had consulted the Secretary of State, who had said the principle underlying this proposal by the new Tanganyika Government was entirely acceptable to Her Majesty's Government.

Referring to "this welcome news", the Chief Minister said it was a public demonstration for all the world to see that nothing now stood in their way except the time to do properly the work that required to be done.

"To all intents and purposes, Mr. Speaker, we are free already," the Chief Minister declared. "All that remains is hard work." He said that the March conference announced by the Governor would be "the conference to end all conferences as far as Tanganyika's independence goes". It would be the milestone on the road to independence. (*Tanganyika Information Services*, October 19.)

Reporting an interview with Mr. Nyerere, Tom Stacey (*Sunday Times*, October 30) said Mr. Nyerere was prepared to hold up Tanganyika's full independence until 1962, provided the British Government could bring Kenya and Uganda to full self-government by that date. The object, he said, would be to enable the three territories to form an East African Federation immediately on independence. Tanganyika, as an independent country—such as she could become at any time after next March's conference—would be obliged to sever most of the economic and administrative ties now linking her through the East Africa High Commission, with Kenya and Uganda, which would still be dependencies.

Mr. Nyerere was asked whether he was confident that the African leaders of the other two territories would fall in with his plan. "I see no objection," he said, "that can be advanced by an African nationalist." He gave three reasons in support of the Federation:

1. East Africa is already a unit, bound by recent history and the practical links of the East Africa High Commission.
2. Whatever capital for local industries the territories have attracted in the past has come in because they can offer a common market. "A popular government," Mr. Nyerere added, "cannot afford to be slow in progressing. We shall need all the money we can find."
3. If an African country was to have some influence to be truly independent, "the bigger you are the better".

## T.A.N.U. Parliamentary Party

An Executive Committee was elected by the Tanganyika African National Parliamentary Party. Mr. Julius Nyerere is president, Sheikh Amri Abedi chairman, Mr. S. N. Eliufoo, vice-chairman, Mr. Dossa Aziz, honorary treasurer, Mr. Al Noor Kassum, chief whip, and Messrs. I. M. Bhoke Munanka and Frank Mfundo, assistant whips. Other members of the committee are Lady Chesham and Messrs. E. B. M. Barongo and R. S. Wambura. The former secretary of the Tanganyika Elected Members' Organization, Mrs. Howell, has been appointed secretary of the T.A.N.U. Parliamentary Party. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 27.)

## Africanization or Localization?

Mr. Derek Bryceson, the elected Minister of Labour, was reported as saying that the Government's policy was localization of the Civil Service,



not Africanization. The Federation of Labour immediately held an emergency meeting and passed a resolution demanding immediate Africanization in all but the most technical type of posts. The Tanganyika African National Union Party headquarters also put out a statement on the subject and recalled the Party's election manifesto in which part of the policy was "to carry out rapid Africanization of Civil Service". T.A.N.U. said: "This is the policy of T.A.N.U. and one which T.A.N.U. as the Government must implement." The minority African National Congress also issued a statement on Mr. Bryce's remarks. They, too, declared that the Government was departing from its declared policy.

The Union of Public Employees wrote to Mr. Nyerere demanding that the new Government embark on "a full-blooded policy" to fill senior posts in the Civil Service with Africans. The letter stated that a great number of posts held by expatriate officers could now be taken over by Africans. "There should be systematic and serious approach to the whole problem and no energy spared until the Civil Service has been thoroughly Africanized." (*Daily Telegraph*, October 6.)

In a speech to the Legislative Council on October 19, Mr. Nyerere referred to Africanization and said his words were a deliberate statement of Government policy. In the past the Government had used the word "localization" to denote the building up of a locally-based Tanganyika Civil Service by the recruitment of local candidates which would otherwise be filled by recruitment from overseas.

The Chief Minister said it would remain the policy of the Government that every vacancy arising in the Civil Service would if possible be filled by appointments being made locally and that recourse would be had to recruitment outside East Africa if no suitable candidate—of any race—could be found locally. Within this policy, in the case of new appointments to the Service, it was the Government's intention that African candidates of Tanganyika should have prior claim to consideration. Only if no suitable, qualified Tanganyika African candidate was available should other candidates be considered.

"This need not sound alarming to anybody," the Chief Minister added, "for to localize our Civil Service is to give it a truly local look. But it cannot get this local look unless it is Africanized. Thus Africanization is the means to localization. That is the policy and the aim of the Government." (*Tanganyika Information Services*, October 19.)

In an address to the Legislative Council on October 11, the Governor stated: "With regard to the pressing question of the Africanization of the Civil Service, it is of course the higher posts, as set out annually in this Territory's staff list, most of which require a good deal in the way of qualifications and training, which present us with our most formidable task. The establishment provides for 4,135 such posts. In July, 3,403 of these posts were filled and 732 were vacant. Of these 3,403 officers, 506 are local officers and 2,897 are overseas officers. The racial composition of these 506 local officers is 380 Africans, 84 Asians and 42 Europeans. Members will note that considerable progress is being made. Last year the number of local officers in these senior posts was 360, of whom 270 were Africans, whilst six years ago there were only five Africans in such posts. Broadly speaking, the pace of Africanization is governed not by lack of training facilities but by the shortage of sufficient candidates with the educational qualifications necessary to enable them to use those facilities."

The Governor also referred to education: "The principal steps which the Ministry proposes for the development of education, other than university education, have been embodied in a plan for the three years 1961-4 which will shortly be considered by the Government."

"At secondary level the plan provides, in addition to a steady increase in the number of places in Standard IX, for the abolition of the break which now occurs after Standard X, so that all pupils who enter a secondary school will have the opportunity of proceeding at least as far as School Certificate."

"It is hoped to increase the number of African candidates for School Certificate from 394 in 1959 to 2,275 in 1964, and for Higher School Certificate from a first entry of some 92 in 1960 to 300 in 1964. Further secondary places will also become available when the recommendations of the Integration Committee are put into effect." (*Tanganyika Information Services*, October 11.)

## Budget Surplus

Tanganyika achieved a £912,000 surplus instead of incurring an estimated £1,300,000 deficit last year, according to the territorial accounts for the year which ended on June 30.

The surplus was due to record revenue collections amounting to more than £22 million. The Minister for Finance, Sir Ernest Vasey, said: "The year began with our cash balances in various parts of the world being overdrawn to the extent of £3,900,000. The final accounts show that we ended the year with £250,000 in hand. The reason for this improvement in our cash position is that during the year the issue of Treasury Bills was started and at the end of the year over £3,400,000 of bills were outstanding—a figure which reflects the confidence of investors in the future of Tanganyika since holdings of Treasury Bills are spread over banks, commercial firms and boards." (*East African Standard*, September 16.)

It was also possible to raise an exchequer loan of £1½ million from Her Majesty's Government. As a result it was possible to reduce advances made in respect of development expenditure incurred in anticipation of loans being raised to £3,800,000.

The total revenue for the year at £22.06 million was over £2 million more than was anticipated. Nearly one-half of this revenue came from indirect taxation—import duties accounting for £7½ million and excise duty £2½ million—the yield from import duty was over £1 million more than was estimated. Direct taxation amounted to £6.75 million, just falling short of the estimated total of £6.9 million. Increased receipts from the share of the East African Currency Board surplus and the dividend from the Government's share in Williamson Diamonds Ltd. also gave increased revenue on other revenue heads.

The total expenditure for the year was £21.15 million as compared with an estimated expenditure of £21.26 million—to this latter figure, however, must be added the amount of supplementary estimates of expenditure approved by Legislative Council during the year which amounted to a little over £1 million, giving a total approved provision of £22.32 million.

The expenditure incurred by the principal spending Ministries, with the approved estimate given in brackets, was: Ministry of Education and Labour £3.12 million (£3.23 million); Ministry of Urban Local Government and Works £3.03 million (£3.16 million); Ministry of Security and Immigration £2.95 million (£3.08 million); Ministry of Natural Resources £1.94 million (£2.15 million); Ministry of Health £1.84 million (£1.96 million), and Ministry of Provincial Affairs £1.15 million (£1.21 million). Other large items of expenditure included £1.75 million on servicing the public debt and £1.11 million on pensions and gratuities.

Expenditure on development works for the year had been estimated at £4 million and, in the event, over £3.9 million was spent. But included in this figure of £3.9 million was a loan of £350,000 to the Land Bank and expenditure on several schemes which were brought forward from the current development programme.

Expenditure on schemes originally planned was, therefore, running at a rate of about £3½ million per annum or 12½ per cent below the planned rate. (*Tanganyika Information Services*, September 14.)

## Technical Assistance

The United Kingdom Government, in agreement with the Government of Tanganyika, indicated that they would welcome the appointment of a United Nations Technical Assistance Representative in the Territory. George Ivan Smith, Director of External Relations in the United Nations office of Public Information left New York early in October to visit Tanganyika where he was to make preliminary arrangements regarding the establishment of a United Nations Office of Technical Assistance. (*United Nations News*, October 18.)

## Boycott of South African Goods

Mr. Nyerere announced at a press conference that Tanganyika would be prepared to pay the price of a boycott of South African goods even if it meant the withdrawal of commercial firms from the territory through their business being affected. "This is not a money business," he said, "it is a moral business. I cannot be intimidated over the price." Earlier Mr. Nyerere had said that the boycott was a matter for individual conscience

and he hoped it would not be necessary to introduce legislation. "At present," he said, "the boycott is directed at the consumer, and in this sense is a voluntary protest. It is our hope that the importer also will see that the reasons why we are advocating the boycott are good ones, and that he also should support the boycott by not importing goods from South Africa."

On the question of trade unions instigating special boycott action, Mr. Nyerere said the Government had no intention of asking trade unions to take action. If they did, that was their own responsibility.

Mr. Nyerere also said: "If we feel it is necessary to legislate against business with South Africa we should do it in spite of the price. I believe our people feel as strongly as we feel about the boycott and will not make it necessary to have legislation." In reply to another question, he said the Government would not introduce legislation to prevent Tanganyikans going to work in South Africa, but the Government would not use its facilities to encourage this. (*The Times*, September 19.)

# Uganda

## The Next Election

THE Government published a Bill aimed at preventing intimidation and interference with election officers and persons who wish to exercise their rights of registering and voting in the 1961 elections.

The Bill would empower the Governor to order the detention of any person who he was satisfied by evidence on oath had interfered or was attempting to interfere with the liberty of persons exercising their rights and duties under the Legislative Council (Elections) Ordinance, or who damaged or attempted to damage property or interfered with any registration centre or polling station. Police officers would be given powers to arrest suspected persons and hold them for twenty-four hours.

With the approval of a Provincial Commissioner, a District Commissioner, or police officer of or above the rank of superintendent, such persons could be detained up to a maximum of fourteen days to enable inquiries to be made and a decision to be taken by the Governor as to whether a detention order should be made against him.

One of the major factors influencing Government in deciding to introduce this new legislation was the large number of incidents which have occurred in Buganda in connexion with the registration of voters. The legislation would expire on June 30, 1961. There was no provision in the Bill for its renewal. (*Uganda News*, September 20.)

In a letter to *The Times* (September 22), Aby Mayanja, the Minister of Education in the Kabaka's Government, wrote: "The purpose of the proposed legislation is allegedly to enable people to exercise their 'democratic' rights to register and vote for the next Legislative Council without intimidation and interference. It seems that there is no limit to which Government nowadays will not go to in protecting democracy, but the measures now sought by the Uganda Government appear to be very arbitrary, having regard to existing legislation. Under the present law intimidation and interference with election officers or those wishing to exercise their rights under the Election Ordinance are illegal, and the Government has powers, by virtue of the declaration of Buganda as a disturbed area, to subject people to virtual house-imprisonment without trial.

"This latter provision has been used to such an extent that hundreds of persons are restricted within 100 yards of their houses. Moreover, several others are already rusticated to remote areas of the Protectorate. It is thus difficult to see why the Government deems these new powers essential."

He concluded: "It is, I submit, of the utmost importance that Colonial Governments in countries which, like Uganda, are about to achieve independence should set the highest examples of tolerance and respect for personal freedom to successor Governments. I hope public opinion in Britain will prevail upon the Uganda Government to withdraw the present Bill."

On September 30 it was announced that the period of registration in the twenty-four electoral districts in Buganda and Kampala had been

extended by a further three weeks until October 22. The Supervisor of Elections (Mr. R. C. Poagram) said that this had been done because it was realized that many people had refrained from registering, pending the return of the Kabaka and the Buganda delegation from London. Now that the London talks were over, the Government felt that all who now wished to register should be given the fullest opportunity to do so.

Despite a mounting wave of intimidation and threats of violence against people who register in Buganda, the total of registrations within this province had then reached 16,000. Elsewhere in Uganda registration had ended with a total of 1,292,700 applications to register—double the figures for the 1958 elections. (*Uganda News*, September 30.)

At a press conference in Entebbe, Mr. Macleod was asked if he thought elections practicable if half the population of the country didn't want them. Mr. Macleod answered: "Yes, I do. I don't think it right to try to deny people their civic rights if they are qualified to vote for the government of their country." (*Uganda News*, September 27.)

The Chief Secretary, Mr. G. B. Cartland, announced in the Legislative Council that the Uganda general election would probably be held in the third week of March. It had been expected in February, but postponement had been made necessary by the extension of registration in Buganda. (*The Times*, November 11.)

## Buganda's Future

In a speech inaugurating Uganda's new £703,000 Parliamentary Building in Kampala on September 19, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Iain Macleod, said: "My colleagues and I are deeply anxious that Uganda should be enabled to move into independence in the foreseeable future so that it can take its place among new nations forming in the African continent." (*Uganda News*, September 20.)

On September 20, several thousand Baganda assembled to greet the Kabaka and his Ministers on their return from London. Mr. Macleod spent the day in private discussions with tribal and political leaders. Uganda's other three hereditary rulers sided with the Kabaka in stating that it would be disastrous to hold a general election in Uganda before the country's problems were solved—particularly the question of what form the future Government will take. They stated their position in a petition presented during their meeting with Mr. Macleod. (*Guardian*, September 21.)

On September 23 and 24 members of the Buganda Lukiko passed resolutions by overwhelming majorities declaring that Buganda would seek her own independence, terminate agreements with Britain, and would not be represented in the Legislative Council.

The Speaker warned the Lukiko that to refuse to be represented in the Legislative Council would be a breach of the Buganda agreements, but members shouted that they intended to terminate these agreements in any case. It was also decided to set up a nine-man committee consisting of the Premier, M. Kintu, A. K. Sempa, Leonard Basudde, and six other Lukiko members to draft a petition to the Queen seeking the termination of British protection.

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, had said earlier, however, that he did not regard Buganda's refusal to participate in elections as a breach of the Buganda agreements, nor had Her Majesty's Government given any consideration to termination of the agreements.

The *Guardian* commented that this action was not surprising but the main point which arose was that the appointment of the committee and the preparation of a petition opened up new prospects of delaying tactics. In the meantime the issue of direct elections to the Legislative Council, which Buganda had been resisting, would be over for the time being. Buganda would either remain wholly unrepresented, as at present, or represented by members elected on a small minority of votes, whose authority would be unrecognized by the Kabaka's Government. Thus independence for a united Uganda would be delayed. However, the Buganda Government's recent attitude had led to a marked hardening of attitude of African elected members to the Legislative Council, who gave full support to the Protectorate Government's Bill against intimidation of persons registering as voters. (*Guardian*, September 26.)

Mr. G. B. Cartland, the Chief Secretary of Uganda, said that the

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Buganda Agreements could be varied only by mutual consent and that there could be no question of any part of the Protectorate seceding from Uganda as long as the British Government were the protecting power. There would be no change in the status of Buganda at least until after there had been a conference in London of all interested parties following the receipt of the recommendations of the Relationships Commission. Mr. Cartland said that he spoke with the authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. (*The Times*, September 27.)

Mr. Apollo Kironde, leader of the United National Party and a former Minister of Works in the Protectorate, stated that his Party had opposed the registration of voters in Buganda because it had been told that talks in London were concerned with the status of the Kabaka in a United Uganda, but now that the Buganda Government appeared to be talking of ending the Buganda agreements, Mr. Kironde himself was going to register and was going to call on all his Party members to do so. (*Guardian*, September 29.)

In London, Mr. Benedict Kiwanuka, president of the Uganda Democratic Party, said that the Lukiko in Buganda was unrepresentative and was anything but democratic, and that Britain needed to take much firmer measures in dealing with the Kabaka and his Ministers. (*Guardian*, October 5.)

On October 3, the Protectorate Government sent a firm reply to the Premier of Buganda on the subject of the four resolutions passed in the Buganda Lukiko calling for separate independence for Buganda and criticizing British Government policy regarding the holding of elections in 1961. The Government statement noted the resolution that the Lukiko was perturbed by the Secretary of State's failure to say when Buganda would be united into the rest of Uganda, in a federal form of government, but pointed out that the future form of government would be decided by the constitutional conference after the report of the Relationships Commission. "Those who favour a federal form of government will have every opportunity of stating their views."

The statement rejected a resolution deploring that the British Government was proceeding with the registration of voters. The Government said the Kabaka's Ministers were informed of the decision to proceed by the Governor at the beginning of August and by the Secretary of State in London.

Another resolution deplored anti-intimidation legislation, which it claimed was rushed through. The Bill, in fact, had unanimous approval in the Council. To the Lukiko complaint that the Bill empowered the Government to subject Baganda to harsh treatment, the Government said it hoped circumstances will not arise which require the Bill's enforcement.

The final resolution called for separate independence for Buganda, and contained a refusal to participate in the Legislative Council. The Government reminded Buganda of its obligations under the 1955 agreement, and hoped that the intentions stated in the resolution did not mean that Buganda intends to break the agreement, "which would have serious consequences". (*Guardian*, October 5.)

On October 4, the Lukiko, the Buganda Parliament, heard the report of the committee which it set up to consider Buganda's future. The report demanded independence for Buganda by March 31, 1961, if no other solution had meanwhile been found. Buganda should remain within the Commonwealth, it was proposed, and present arrangements on customs and communications should be maintained. The report offered Britain a military alliance and sought British financial aid. Continued incorporation in Uganda would be acceptable only on two conditions: (a) that the Buganda agreements are terminated and (b) that Uganda must have a federal structure. (*The Times*, October 5.)

The Lukiko approved this report with one important alteration: it put forward the date for independence from March 31 to January 1, 1961, thus showing a clear intention to defy the Protectorate Government.

A Protectorate Government spokesman said that no reply was yet possible to the Lukiko memorandum, as it was addressed to the Queen. The spokesman added that he could not see that the memorandum as reported made any useful contribution to the solution of the problems facing Uganda. (*The Times*, October 6.)

On October 17 the Colonial Office issued the following statement: "As the date for the opening of registration of electors in Buganda approached,

the Kabaka's Government publicly declared its opposition to participation by the people of Buganda. The Secretary of State therefore invited the Kabaka to London for a general exchange of views and, in particular, to discuss this matter; and suggested that His Highness might wish to bring advisers with him. The invitation was accepted and talks began on August 15. In opening the talks, the Secretary of State reaffirmed the intention of Her Majesty's Government that elections should be held throughout Uganda early in 1961 for members of the new Legislative Council and that registration should begin in Buganda on August 22. He made it clear that there was no further postponement of the date for the commencement of registration in Buganda.

"He reaffirmed that the Relationships Commission, which is to consider and recommend the final form of Government which would be best suited to the needs of an independent Uganda, was to be set up as soon as possible. He made it clear to the Buganda delegation throughout the talks that he was not prepared to discuss matters reserved for consideration by the Relationships Commission, and in consequence he was unable to pre-judge the advice of the Commission by making a declaration that the future constitution of Buganda would be federal in character. He explained that the recommendations of the Relationships Commission would be considered by a conference in London at which the Kabaka's Government, together with representatives of the Protectorate Government and of the other parts of Uganda, would be represented.

"Mr. Macleod pointed out that the constitutional arrangements to come into force after the elections early in 1961 would not in any way prejudice Buganda's position under its agreements with Her Majesty's Government. He reminded the Buganda delegation that during the stage when these arrangements were in force the Executive Council in Uganda would remain advisory to the Governor. He affirmed that until independence for Uganda as a whole comes into being, or until the agreements for the time being subsisting between the Crown on the one hand and the Kabaka, chiefs and peoples of Buganda on the other hand, otherwise come to an end, the kingdom of Buganda would keep the powers it already possessed. These could include any additional powers which Her Majesty's Government might have been prepared to extend as a result of the consultations between the Buganda Government and the Protectorate Government which had then been going on for some time. He made it clear, however, that it would be inappropriate to negotiate any matters of major principle before the Relationships Commission had reported and that so long as there was no evidence of the Buganda Government's intention to co-operate in the decisions reached for the Protectorate as a whole he could not agree the implementation of any changes in the Buganda Constitution.

"The Secretary of State hoped that, in the light of his assurances about the position of Buganda in relation to the forthcoming elections and new constitution, the Kabaka's advisers would agree to withdraw their opposition, and co-operate in registrations going forward without interference. Unfortunately, this hope was disappointed.

"The Secretary of State received a memorandum addressed to Her Majesty the Queen by the members of the Lukiko. The Secretary of State is considering with all urgency the advice he will submit to Her Majesty on the issues raised in the memorandum. On the question of secession, however, the position of Her Majesty's Government has already been made clear, namely, that there can be no question of the secession of any part of the Protectorate so long as Her Majesty's Government is the protecting power. The Secretary of State trusts that this clear statement of the position will serve to remove any apprehensions or misgivings people in Buganda may have about exercising their lawful right to register for the vote, and that those who have held back so far will follow the many thousands of their fellow citizens who have already acted wisely and realistically in this matter.

"The Secretary of State believes that the Kabaka's Ministers have misunderstood the position and he has therefore been anxious not to close the door to further talks. He fears, however, that if the Kabaka's Ministers persist in advocating a policy which runs wholly counter to that which Her Majesty's Government conceive to be in the best interest of the Protectorate, including Buganda, it will become increasingly difficult for Her Majesty's Government to entertain the hope of securing the co-

operation of the present Buganda Government in their plans for the constitutional development of the country." (*Colonial Office Information Department*, October 17.)

### Relationships Commission<sup>1</sup>

The Terms of Reference of the Relationships Commission were announced in a dispatch by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor on the Wild Constitutional Report. The terms are:

To consider the future form of government best suited to Uganda and the question of the relationship between the Central Government and other authorities in Uganda bearing in mind:

(a) Her Majesty's Government's known resolve to lead Uganda by appropriate stages to independence and to this end to develop stable institutions of government which will properly reflect the particular circumstances and meet the needs of the Uganda; and

(b) The desire of the peoples of Uganda to preserve their existing institutions and customs and the status and dignity of their rulers and leaders; and

(c) The special relationship that already exists between Her Majesty's Government and His Highness the Kabaka's Government and the Native Governments of Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro, as set down in the various agreements that have been made with the traditional rulers and peoples of Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro, and to make recommendations.

The names of the members of the Commission were not announced but the Secretary of State said: "In view of the fundamental importance of the problems to be considered by this Commission, it is proposed to appoint to it persons of the highest standing and widest experience of the problems." He said the Commission should be ready with its report by the early summer of 1961.

In the dispatch Mr. Macleod referred to the view of the Kabaka's Government that proposed changes were contrary to their interests. He said that nothing had caused him, or the Governor, greater anxiety than this view. "I need scarcely say that in all these decisions I have given the fullest weight to the known views of His Highness' Government. It is public knowledge that the Buganda Government has not felt able to offer its co-operation in the measures which I believe to be necessary if Uganda's constitutional progress is to proceed."

He emphasized that he was doing all he could to allay the fears of the Kabaka's Government, but added: "I should not think it right for that reason to postpone an advance which I believe to be fully justified and indeed necessary in the interests of the whole country."

He made it clear that the implementation of the 1961 constitution for the Protectorate would in no way prejudice the recommendations of the Relationships Commission or for that matter the decisions to be taken on them next year; and that there would be nothing in the new constitution to affect the present relationship between the central government and Buganda. (*Uganda News*, September 20.)

### Bukedi Disturbances<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Frank Gibson, the District Commissioner, told the Bukedi District Council at Muluki, Mbale, that the security situation in Bukedi had improved and the district would no longer be a disturbed area. Mr. Gibson added a note of warning on the present financial state of the Bukedi African Local Government and pointed out that one-fifth of taxes for 1960 remained unpaid. That, he said, could lead to a drastic cut in services and salaries, unless the balance was paid quickly, and a reimposition of the order declaring the disturbed area.

The disturbances in January and the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry had made it clear that a new system was needed as well as a revision in the rates of taxes to be paid. Proposals in the memorandum, which had previously been discussed by the Standing and Finance committees, included one for a standard rate of 50s. tax to be paid by all farmers whose income depended on growing one or two acres of cotton, or by people earning porters' wages of 50s. or less per month. This reduction from the average of 62s. paid in 1960 would mean a decrease in African Local Government revenue by 700,000s. and a consequent reduction in expenditure of African Local Government. People whose incomes

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 2.

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST VII, 5 and 6; VIII, 1.

were higher than the average peasant farmers' would have to pay a higher tax. (*Taifa*, October 2.)

## Zanzibar

### January Elections

SIR HILARY BLOOD's recommendations for constitutional advance in Zanzibar<sup>1</sup> have been debated in the Zanzibar Legislative Council and have been considered by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Iain Macleod, in consultation with the British Resident. As a result the following main proposals were agreed:

The Executive Council will consist of the British Resident as president, three *ex-officio* members and five unofficial Ministers. One of the unofficial Ministers will be designated as Chief Minister. The Legislative Council will consist of three *ex-officio* members, twenty-two elected members and up to five appointed members. A Speaker of the Legislative Council will be appointed.

Draft legislation will be placed before the Legislative Council in the near future to enable these proposals to be put into effect in January 1961 when the next elections take place. (*Colonial Office Information Department*, November 7.)

### Death of the Sultan

On October 9, Seyyid Sir Khalifa Bin Harub, the Sultan of Zanzibar, died aged 81. His son, Seyyid Sir Abdulla Bin Khalifa, was proclaimed Sultan. He is 50.

The Sultan's long reign, lasting nearly forty-nine years, was marked by a steady support for British policy and for the gradual acceptance of political changes which are transforming the status of the island. Three years after his accession the First World War broke out and (with the Germans then in control of Tanganyika) was in part fought on his doorstep. His influence was of great service in keeping the Moslems of East Africa, who might have been expected to follow the Turkish lead, from intervening in the fighting.

In 1914, Zanzibar had been transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, and his Government was largely staffed by British Civil Servants, with a Resident at their head. In 1926 he introduced the first legislative council in the island's history, with some appointed unofficial members; the first elections came in 1957 and were marked by a success of the Afro-Shirazi (largely African born) Party and the eclipse of the Arab Nationalists who had made most of the political running in earlier years.

His services both as a ruler over his own state and as a friend of Britain were recognized by the honorary awards of G.B.E., G.C.M.G. and G.C.B. (*Guardian*, October 10.)

## SOUTHERN AFRICA High Commission Territories

### Basutoland Economic Survey<sup>2</sup>

THE following is a summary of the main points concerning the economic development of Basutoland contained in the report of the recent Economic Survey Mission.

It is estimated that by this year Basutoland's accumulated surplus will have been reduced to about £149,000 and regular budgetary assistance will soon be required. In 1948-9 ordinary revenue was £908,000 and expenditure was £915,000. C.D. & W. expenditure was £74,000. In 1959-60 estimated ordinary revenue was £1,762,690 and expenditure £1,953,733 (a

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VII, 6, and VIII, 1.

<sup>2</sup>Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland: *Report of an Economic Survey*, H.M.S.O., 1960.

deficit of £191,043); C.D. & W. expenditure was £272,560. This expenditure was on a population of 638,857 Africans, 1,926 Europeans, 247 Asians and 644 mixed races (1956 census).

The largest item of revenue is Customs and Excise which comes almost entirely, as is the case in Bechuanaland and Swaziland, from a percentage share of Union Customs under the Customs Agreement of 1910. Direct taxation accounts for 23 per cent of the revenue, basic tax of 34s. a year is paid by the adult males, plus 25s. for every wife after the first. If the registers could be relied on, which they cannot, an additional £100,000 should be collected under this head. Male and female Basuto also pay a graded tax in respect of income and stock holdings. This should bring in £16,000 in 1960 although only £5,000 was collected in 1959 owing to inadequate assessment.

Non-Basuto are liable to income tax at Union rates plus an adult male tax of £3 a year. During the recent London Constitutional Conference it was agreed that this tax should be abolished and that all discrimination against Non-Basuto should be abolished so that their high tax rates should be the same as the Basuto. There is room for improvement in the assessment and collection of taxes and the new Government may have to consider increasing the rate of graded tax, the export duty on wool and mohair is important but it is always below its proper level owing to smuggling.

A limited amount of development work has been carried out by grants of £2,170,000 under the C.D. & W. Acts. From 1959 to 1964 the grant will be £750,000. No Exchequer loans under the 1959 Colonial Development Act have been made yet. Under the new Constitution the Basuto National Treasury will be closed and each of the nine District Councils will be given a Treasury to carry out responsibilities greater in the aggregate than the present National Treasury and there is no reason to expect financial economy.

#### Migrant Labour

About 130,000 (mostly men) are continuously resident outside the Territory in the Rand and Orange Free State mines and in neighbouring farms and in industry. Their earnings are a major source of income to the Basuto. Inside Basutoland about 150,000 families out of 160,000 have holdings of land. Internal communications are difficult and the movement of goods and people occurs primarily between the Union and Basutoland rather than inside Basutoland itself. This can be partially overcome by better communications and better facilities for conducting internal business. It is estimated that 43 per cent (83,000) male adults are temporary migrant workers. In 1958 the five main agencies recruited about 50,000 Basuto, about 20 per cent of them for the first time, and paid out £685,000 in deferred pay and remittances. In addition returning labourers brought back perhaps £400,000 in cash and goods and the Agencies paid the Government £60,000 in recruit taxes and £20,000 in attestation fees.

High emigration exists because it has not been easy to make a living in Basutoland and some degree of dependence in cash income is widespread. . . .

If opportunities of wage earning increase, it is expected that a greater number of Basuto will prefer to work in their own country, provided that wages and conditions of work are not less than those in the Union. Against this "must be reckoned the status which is often conferred on the individual by temporary or periodical absence and the standard of pay and amenities in the mines". Wage-earning opportunities inside Basutoland are not likely to increase rapidly in the near future.

#### Economic Pressure and Opportunities

Between 1950 and 1959 population increased by 20 per cent; the internal population by 13 per cent, the absentee by 85 per cent of which males working increased by 51 per cent. The output of staple crops only increased by 5 per cent and the quantity of wool and mohair fell by 30 per cent. The value of agricultural output fell by 40 per cent. Between 1949 and 1958 the number of large livestock decreased by 15 per cent and small livestock by 20 per cent. The steep increase in migrant labour was caused by "the failure of crop production to keep pace with population" and the decline in output and value of wool and mohair due to the collapse of wool prices. Mohair prices remained relatively firm and it is not true that the absence

of workers caused the decline in agriculture; in general the Basuto would prefer work at home if he could get a satisfactory standard of living, and erosion, as will be seen, has been a powerful factor.

Seven per cent of Basuto families are landless. Of the 150,000 landed families 53,000 (33 per cent) have less than 4 acres compared with the average of 5.7. The remaining 97,000 (above the average) have an average holding of 7 acres. The present average annual value of crops from the 7 acres is £30 with 22 per cent of the land left fallow. The value that could be obtained by using small amounts of artificial fertilizer or kraal manure and following the simple practice in which progressive farmers are trained would be £75; if the fallow were put down to crops—if proper manuring and rotational systems are followed—an average output of £96 per family could be obtained.

The value of crop output could be doubled in twenty years without changing the average size or distribution of holdings; although the report does not rule out the possibility of consolidation of each family's lands. This would require a change-over from maize and fallow to more valuable crops and enlargement of the Agricultural Training School to provide instruction for 5,600 Progressive Farmers in the next ten years and approximately another 7,500 in the subsequent ten-year period. This assumes that there is an increase in the number of co-operative farmers, that erosion is controlled and land reclaimed, and that there is a vigorous irrigation programme. If all this happened the target reached could be substantially higher.

Wool and mohair are the leading exports and the main source of agricultural cash income. The value of the combined output fell from £2,240,000 in 1950 to £1,150,000 in 1959. Since 1949 goats fell in number by 17 per cent and sheep by 21 per cent. The Agricultural Department believe that with redistribution of stock, better grazing control and disease prevention, sheep and goats could be increased by 25 per cent in numbers; improvements in health and nutrition (omitting the effects of improved breeding) would increase output by 40 per cent or £500,000 at 1959 prices. The control of sheep keds should increase the value of wool by £100,000. The value of wool and mohair exports could be increased by improving quality. South African farmers owning the better quality get 10d. to 20d. per lb. more for wool than Basuto farmers. If only half of the difference were captured this would be an increase in the value of wool exports by £200,000 to £500,000 a year. A similar but smaller opportunity exists in the case of mohair.

Horses and cattle fell by one-sixth or 85,000 between 1949 and 1958. The Department believes that it would be possible to achieve a net export of 35,000-40,000 cattle if there is a successful campaign to induce the Basuto to sell more readily and to improve quality by control of grazing, diseases and parasites and by better selection and breeding. Their export value would be £700,000-£1,200,000 compared with a small net import recently. A possible increase of £1.5-£2 million in the value of all livestock exports is indicated. "This can be achieved only if the Livestock Division of the Department of Agriculture is completely reorganized and revitalized. . . ."

The Mission recommends an increase in staff of 223 in the Division at a salary, capital and recurrent cost of £12,500 in 1950 rising to £75,000 in 1965. An application has been made to the High Commissioner for £36,000 of C.D. & W. funds.

#### Soil Conservation

Conservation of the soil is a major need and an urgent problem in Basutoland. Conservation works begun in 1935 have saved the Territory from an irreparable loss of soil, but population pressure has led to a deterioration of grassland slopes with an increase in run-off on lower arable land. Partly owing to staff shortages, Basuto farmers have been lax in maintaining conservation works and there has been a further spread of donga and sheet erosion. The successful Taung Rehabilitation Scheme was designed as a prototype for a series of "betterment area" schemes. Plans for two other areas have been made by the Department of Agriculture which is all that can be handled with present staff. Unless there is strict control of grazing in the mountains the current deterioration there will make impossible, except at vast cost, the control of run-off in the Lowlands, the largest export industry could be damaged irreparably and



the potential of water sources jeopardized. After rehabilitation the methods of traditional agriculture of the Basuto farmer will have to be abandoned in order to prevent deterioration.

Soil conservation is also a social problem; in the past when the Department of Agriculture has enforced obedience to grazing control regulations and other means it has been regarded more as a policing agency to be obstructed than an agent of progress with which to co-operate. If policing is needed, though persuasion is better, it should not be handled by the technical staff.

Under the 1960-4 Development Plan the Government only allotted £425,000 for "betterment area" schemes, as it did not expect to raise more money. The Ministry recommends that the High Commissioner should increase the amount by £143,000 and that another £150,000 should be spent on a complete aerial survey.

### Crops and Land Tenure

Agriculture is mainly subsistence farming and there is very little cash cropping even inside the Territory. The total value of agricultural output is about £4-5 million a year in 1958, with exports amounting to £300,000, mostly wheat and pulses. The gross product of the livestock industry may be £2-£3 million. The typical Basuto family cultivates 5-10 acres divided into three non-contiguous "lands" with perhaps a small vegetable "plot" near the kraal. All land, trees and reeds are conceived as belonging to the Paramount Chief in trust for the Basuto nation. Land is allocated by chiefs and headmen to the people. Land is withdrawn if it is not used, if the dwelling place is deserted and taxes left unpaid. When land was plentiful every family was guaranteed a livelihood and land monopoly was prevented. New land is scarce and it is alleged that chiefs sometimes re-allocate land improperly, with no opportunity for redress, in their own interests or in that of their families and supporters.

Output per acre averages about £5-£10 a year. This could be raised to a minimum of £17 with no change in crops, but with an increased input of £2-£3 a year. For wheat, beans, peas and other valuable crops an additional input of, say, £4 in fertilizers would yield an average £45-£50 an acre a year.

There is need for a comprehensive programme of research, much more agricultural education, and financial aid for promising farmers. The Progressive Farmer scheme for crops should be extended to animal husbandry.

There should be a serious study of land tenure, looking forward to legislation. This should cover conditional individual management of arable land, soil conservation, village re-location regulating the use of communal grazing land to foster sound husbandry, instruction of negotiability by means of an official body and restriction of sub-division of land.

Traders argue that they are reluctant to expand so long as occupation by suzerainty prevails and difficulties arise about loans when there is no title to the land. Land tenure, as it is, discourages outside businessmen and investment. The Basuto Co-Operative Banking Union is worried about land tenure.

The Mission suggests that land is quite unsuited to the type of society which Basuto leaders want; there must be an established Land Law. There is no need to adopt a purely private property system; long-term leases could be arranged and public authorities could have the option of re-purchase of land after a term of years. Industrial, commercial, recreational and other areas could be defined to prevent unrestricted non-agricultural tenure.

### The Co-operative Movement

The movement began in 1948 but declined until 1958 when the recommendations of the Colonial Office Adviser were implemented. Gross turn-over which had fallen from £71,369 in 1954-5 to £67,508 in 1957-8 increased to £273,431 in 1958-9 in a period of low wool prices and slack trade. The way to success was the founding of the Central Co-operative Banking Union. Emphasis was placed on the accumulation of capital rather than on the highest return for the producer. It became possible to plan the purchase of all types of produce and to pay the members in spot cash. The minimum share is £1, sometimes 10s.; unfortunately, the minimum share is treated as an entrance fee and few members invest more. Co-operative law has now been amended to allow a maximum dividend

of 10 per cent in paid-up shares instead of the old 5 per cent, which should encourage permanent investment by members, but the principal source of permanent capital will still be profits on loans, marketing of produce and sale of seeds, fertilizers, etc. The need is to add to self-owned capital by the acceptance of fixed deposits by the Banking Union, which may become popular with salary earners and stock-men. "If the movement is to play its full part in Government-sponsored development schemes, it seems unavoidable that a grant or a long-term loan should be made to the Banking Union." The finance of produce purchase does not present difficulty as the bulk is produce which is not perishable and can be insured against all risks except a fall in price. The finance of stocks of agricultural requisites, building materials and consumers' goods presents more problems. The last two face the danger of over-stocking and of bad debts on credit sales; it is debatable whether the movement should involve itself there. There is a demand for co-operative shops but no great capacity for running them efficiently. The Registrar allows them to be started but no special encouragement is given to starting them; there is a danger that this policy may cause a rift between the Registrar and co-operative members.

The banks should be more willing to finance building materials for artisans' co-operatives to provide self-employment for a good number of trained Basuto who are reasonably efficient. The Banking Union helps, but this diverts funds from agriculture. Unless the banks step in, small C.D. & W. funds should be used to put artisans on their feet. The supply of agricultural requisites is to be aided by the Banking Union, perhaps with the aid of ordinary trade credit, but the Government should be prepared to stand by as the development is of crucial importance. There is an urgent need for agricultural credit and the question of a Government guarantee to a commercial bank for a limited amount over a limited period should be discussed.

The marketing and credit societies will play a major part in the conversion of subsistence to a cash crop system. Expansion is limited by the shortage of unpaid local committee members; plans are being made to give them short instruction courses in commercial management. There are seventeen societies dealing with agricultural marketing, twenty-five with agricultural credit, eight consumer societies and two artisan societies; as well as the Co-operative Banking Union, a Co-operative Savings Society has been created.

### Education<sup>1</sup>

Education remains in the hands of Paris Evangelical, Roman Catholic and Church of England missions. The only Government school is the Technical Trades School in Maseru. The Government spent £314,617 in grants-in-aid in 1959-60, about one-sixth of the Government expenditure of £2 million. From 1955 to 1960 C.D. & W. expenditure in education will be £125,652. In 1950 there were 27,828 males and 55,000 females in school of which 260 were in secondary schools, the rest in primary. In that year twenty-five males and seven females were in the highest secondary form. In 1958 the numbers had increased to 44,634 males and 76,000 females of which 802 were in secondary schools, the rest in primary; in the highest secondary form were thirty-two males and seven females. By 1959 total enrolments were 128,000 including 1,600 receiving secondary education. Government expenditure (not Missionary) was about £2 10s. a head. "Approximately about half of the population in the 5-19 year age group is in school at any one time, but perhaps 95 per cent of the children go to school at some time. While nearly all girls between 10 and 16 are at school, half the boys are absent, most of them tending cattle. Nearly all the female children will be functionally literate, but only half the male population. In addition, relatively few students go beyond standard four (the third highest primary form). . . . Only four out of the twenty secondary schools offer the full five-year course for the matriculation certificate; nor is the quality of education satisfactory. Far too many of those who take the examinations for primary junior and senior certificates fail. A major cause of this is the lack of qualified teachers, even in the teacher training centres. Teachers' salaries and living conditions are low and better opportunities elsewhere lead to a loss of better teachers.

Except for the medical school at Natal, Basutos cannot now get university training in the Union. A few places exist in the Federation of

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 1.

Central Africa, but financial assistance is usually necessary. A few Basutos study overseas and at Roma University College which runs courses in the humanities, science, commerce and education under the aegis of the University of South Africa. Since the college is the only institution of its kind in the High Commission Territories the Mission recommends a grant for its pressing need for a new library and another hostel.

Two trade schools have an output of about thirty-five students a year, but as they do not require secondary school certificates, graduates have limited chances for self-employment or responsible posts. A five-year secondary school with a strong technical bias is being considered, to be initially staffed by Europeans, to overcome this handicap. But such an expensive step should not be taken unless there is a market for new graduates, and may have to await economic development. The output of agricultural demonstrators from the agricultural school should be trebled.

The principal deficiency in education is in the vocational field. Until recently there has been no opportunity to get commercial education at secondary school level and few Basutos get clerical posts from Europeans and African traders with no commercial training and are often at a disadvantage and cannot get trained help. As the money economy expands there will be a limited demand for more artisans and clerks.

The Registrar of Co-operative Societies should be responsible for organizing the production and sale of the products of cottage industry. Two artisan societies have shown that Native enterprise on a large scale may be successful.

A final and basic vocational deficiency is the training of teachers. The need is great and the quality of teacher training is far from adequate. But the members receiving education compare favourably with other parts of Africa and the people are keen on education.

The numbers and quality and salaries and living standards of teachers must be increased by capital investment over the next ten or fifteen years. The Government cannot afford loans for this, nor can the missionaries foot the bill. Capital grants on a substantial scale are therefore required.

#### Water, Power and Communications

Domestic water is plentiful and conditions are ideal for hydro-electric power. There is little irrigation but this could be established, after a soil survey, an investigation of underground water and the collection of data concerning the water requirements of crops. Three hydro-electric schemes have been proposed; all appear to be economically feasible, but only the Ox-bow scheme has been considered in detail. The full scheme is for power and water supplies in Basutoland and to deliver domestic and industrial water to the Western Free State (Goldfields). The Union of South Africa would be given enormous benefits at reasonable costs and Basutoland could develop its one real asset—water—with considerable advantage. The full Ox-bow scheme would cost Basutoland £8,900,000 in capital and the Free State £7,200,000. Total annual costs would be £1,100,000. Power could also be supplied to the Union at competitive rates. A capital grant should be given to supplement the Basuto Development Plan financial allocation for an investigation into the scheme.

A hydrological survey is an urgent necessity and must be kept going continuously, as it is not possible to design hydro-electric or irrigation schemes unless records of discharge are available for the rivers involved. Five gauging stations have been set up but sixteen more are required. The total costs of this scheme over five years would be £112,230, which includes capital, salaries and maintenance charges. The Mission recommends a grant of £63,000 towards this.

With large-scale power development it will be necessary to regulate water use, to allot water to lands and to assign water rights for development. Water should be declared to be the property of the State and a Water Law framed on the lines of the recent Swaziland Law. Consultation about the use of international rivers will be necessary among the affected Governments.

The Government is responsible for the main road systems in the Western Lowlands: 235 miles of these roads require upgrading to an all-weather standard at a cost of a £1,175,000 grant and this should have priority. The "C" class roads are maintained by traders, with a Government subsidy. The policy of Government responsibility for their full maintenance has not yet been implemented owing to lack of funds. When

it is, a road fund should be established, with an initial capital grant and budget allocations, and the proceeds of a surcharge on motor fuel of, say, 6d. a gallon. Transport users would gain by the removal of maintenance charges and a large reduction in vehicle maintenance costs.<sup>1</sup> A capital grant of £525,000 is recommended for the "C" class roads, especially because the improvement would help to convert agriculture from subsistence level to a cash basis.

#### Industry and Commerce

The almost universal belief is that surplus labour can be absorbed in secondary industries but the prospects of large-scale employment in units of the organized factory type are not good. The only raw materials are the products of agriculture; purchasing power is relatively low and many communities use Union towns for shopping and marketing. The Mission suggests the provision of some factory areas in which legal title to leasehold sites can be given at favourable rates. The industrial area could be supplied with power and water under pressure from the Ox-bow scheme.

Suggestions for the establishment of a blanket factory appear to come from people who are unlikely to take a financial interest in it, and not from investors. Only 4 per cent of the wool clip is coarse enough and cheap enough to be woven into blankets. Transport costs would be high. The factory would be in competition with large and established mills elsewhere.

Given the assurance of cheap power, favourable tax rates, efficient and responsible labour and, preferably, some local raw material, it might suit certain established producers to carry out part of the processing of consumer goods in Basutoland. Proposed textile factories would provide an industry for processing local wool and mohair on a much broader basis than the blanket factory. They would be set up in conjunction with a cotton mill company in Rhodesia in the Union. The Government should consider this plan and if it looks promising should negotiate with potential manufacturers.

A mechanized furniture factory is reported to have closed as it could not compete with Union prices. The establishment of a match factory and a tannery is a doubtful proposition. It is possible that copper smelting or the processing of rocks into fertilizers, both dependent on cheap bulk power, might be started, but would give little employment and wages. The main requirements of the population are the products of highly organized industry with which small local units would find it almost impossible to compete, but if a strong drive is made to increase the quality and variety of agricultural output more secondary employment could be found in auxiliary trades, such as pack transport, lorry transport, marketing and warehousing, milling and malting. Later there may be opportunities in dehydrated vegetables and, in a central factory, in the production of eggs and poultry with peasants co-operating with it. And as cash incomes increase so should the demand for all types of semi-skilled and skilled labour. The existing bookbinding and printing industry could be expanded and there are limited possibilities in tourism.

Preliminary geological surveys for minerals have been disappointing but the Mission recommends a further three-to-five-year survey; even if nothing is found, a conclusive negative answer will be valuable.

The opportunities for industrial development are not promising and to recognize this is the first requirement for working towards a sensible solution of Basutoland's economic problems. . . . There are a number of possibilities that will emerge with an increase in the productivity and cash income of farmers. The fact that none is spectacular should not be interpreted as meaning that they are unimportant. The general conclusion of the Mission is that a capital grant of £2,740,000 should be added to the Government's development funds, to implement their own recommendations.

#### Bechuanaland Legislature

The new constitutional proposals for Bechuanaland were published on September 30. They provide for a Legislative Council of between thirty-one and thirty-five members, with the Resident Commissioner as president, and an executive council of ten. The European elected members will be elected by European voters and the Africans by an African council. The High Commissioner will have reserve powers over certain Bills. The Legislative Council will be composed of three *ex-officio* members, the

<sup>1</sup>A similar proposal is made for Bechuanaland.



Government Secretary, the Secretary for Finance, and the Legal Secretary; twenty-one elected members, of whom ten will be Europeans, ten African and one Asian; and seven nominated official members. The High Commissioner will be empowered to nominate up to four European and African unofficial members, provided that he nominates an equal number of each. The Asian elected member will be elected by Asian voters. (*Northern News*, October 1.)

## South Africa, Union of

### Pondoland Unrest

THE Pondos have sent a representative to put their case before the United Nations. There continue to be almost daily reports of murder, arson and arrests in this part of the Transkei, the Government's "model" Bantustan. The *Guardian* (September 24) described the background: "While the Government's avowed aim is to restore tribalism, its acts are destroying tribal law and custom; while it claims that its policy is one of self-government for the people, in fact the people are not consulted." The Government-appointed chief, who has isolated himself from the people, accepted the new policy without consulting the people. Under the new system of courts imposed, they say "there is much bribery, trickery and bullying. The new policy had affected two other things sacred in their lives, land and cattle. The amount of land allotted to heads of families had been cut; and they complain that the new authorities require bribes (£8 to £18) before it is allotted. They are allowed only eight cattle each—scarcely enough to pay lobola (bride-price) for one wife; all goats (important in tribal religious ceremonies) are to be exterminated. They are not impressed by claims that these changes are for the betterment of their land and stock. They appreciated previous instruction in better farming methods; they now find their land and stock curtailed. On top of this, the poll tax has been raised by 50 per cent. More men have to seek work in the mines or in White industries or farms. And here they come up against the pass laws."

In their memorandum for the United Nations, the tribesmen say that since 1957 they had tried to express their views in a peaceful manner until, early in 1960, at a meeting near Bizana, they were told by the magistrate to appoint three spokesmen. When they did so, the men were arrested.

After this the protests took the form of attacking and burning the huts of certain Government-supporting councillors, some of whom, with police support, according to the people, took cruel reprisals, ending in the death of eleven tribesmen, shot by police at a meeting on June 26. At the inquest on these men, Dr. Ian Robertson, the Government pathologist, said post-mortem examinations indicated that six of the men had died from bullet wounds—three of them from bullets in the back of the skull. In the cases of the other five tribesmen he had not been able to ascertain the cause of death but he could not exclude the possibility that they also had died from bullet wounds. (*The Times*, October 24.)

One tribesman in evidence said that aircraft dropped tear-gas bombs on a meeting of tribesmen at Nqusa Hill, and that "while we ran to and fro with our hands to our eyes the police opened fire". He said that a white flag had been flown to show that it was a private and peaceful meeting. The police "started firing at us when we were in the clearing and still shot at us as we ran into the bushes. They fired at us without any reason." Another tribesman said in evidence that when he found his brother's body it had five bullet wounds, including one in the back of the head. (*The Times*, October 28.)

The newly appointed Commissioner-General for the Transkei, Mr. Hans Abraham, refused to answer journalists' questions and decreed that journalists must not leave the main roads when travelling through the territory. Describing this as "an iron curtain" over Pondoland, the *S.A. Star* (September 22) referred to Mr. Abraham as "the autocrat of Umtata", and said his action had strengthened the suspicion that Bantustan policy had run into serious difficulties in the Transkei. After questioning the wisdom of Mr. Abraham's appointment, the editorial added: "But the most deplorable aspect of the Pondoland affair is that it indicates the pattern that is likely to be followed generally in the administration of the so-called policy of Bantu self-rule."

Mr. Abraham accused the Press of embarking on a campaign to create

suspicion and said the impression was created that there was a reign of terror. This was completely untrue, as was the impression that the Bantu authorities were at the root of the trouble.

Meanwhile the unrest spread to the south in Tembaland and a band of armed tribesmen raided the kraal of a Government-appointed headman, fired rifle shots and wounded the headman's wife and young daughter. Both were taken to hospital. The headman escaped but the raiders burned down four of his huts. (*The Times*, September 16.)

The introduction of the national census gave rise to widespread disturbances, including an attack on a Pondo Government-appointed headman who was trying to count tribesmen. He was hacked to death. The White trader whose store was burnt in September<sup>1</sup> had another store burnt down on October 21.

Several Pondo have been sentenced to imprisonment for eighteen months to two years for arson or threats of arson. Mr. R. I. Arenstein, the Durban lawyer who has been prohibited under the Riotous Assemblies Act from leaving the Durban magisterial area for five years, has been granted permission to go to Pondoland to take part in the defence of thirty-nine tribesmen charged with arson. (*The Times*, October 20.)

A university-educated Pondo, Mr. A. Ganyile, was seized by security police in the street at Bizana on November 7. *The Times* (November 9) reported that "police officials have declined to make any statement about his detention, but the indications are that he has been banished from the district. He is stated to have been 'politically active' during the recent Pondoland disturbances and was formerly chairman of the now proscribed African National Congress at Grahamstown."

On October 11, 20,000 Pondo heard the findings of the Government Commission which investigated the unrest. A force of sixty to seventy police with a sten-gun crew and a Saracen armoured car stood by. The Commission, consisting of three Afrikaner Bantu Commissioners, found "that many huts were burnt and that £20,000 damage was caused. The people of Eastern Pondoland had been seriously misled. They had been told that the Government was against them, whereas all the time the Government was anxious to govern the various tribes according to their own laws and by their own chiefs and councillors. . . . Dealing with various complaints, first, that the people were not properly consulted about the Bantu authorities and that it was forced upon them, the committee found that the system was fully explained to the chiefs and headmen and others. The committee found, however, that when the tribal authorities were formed, the old customs of the tribes who resided in Bizana were not observed in every respect. In regard to this matter, the people of Bizana had every right to complain. On the complaint that the Paramount Chief of Eastern Pondoland did not consult the people when nominating members of tribal authorities, it was found that there was consultation, but later mistakes were made when members of tribal authorities were nominated. The complaint that headmen, who were not heads of tribal authorities, should not try cases was justified and the committee recommended that this matter be put right.

"A number of grievances, however, could not be attributed to Bantu authorities. These were rehabilitation, the fear of which was unfounded, increased taxation, which was necessary, increased stock rate, which again was necessary because of increased expenses in connexion with dipping tank repairs, the health rate and general levy increases, which were necessary and had to be better explained to the people. As far as reference books and Labour Bureau complaints were concerned, the committee found that sometimes hardships were experienced, but these were due to non-compliance with the law. The many advantages of these books had not been fully explained. On Bantu education, the finding was that the syllabus was better now than it was before and that the education was not inferior. Complaints about dipping regulations had been referred by the committee to the Veterinary Department for investigation. Mr. V. M. P. Leibbrandt, Chief Magistrate, and Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Transkei, said that complaints on boundaries and the appointment of councillors or tribal authorities, which the Commission had found to be justified, were to be rectified after consultation with the people as soon as possible. Complaints against chiefs and headmen were receiving the attention of the Government." (*South Africa*, October 29.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 2.

The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. De Wet Nel, in commenting on the report said the Bantu authorities' system would remain unchanged but would be more closely adapted in Pondoland to the traditional practices which had been overlooked when the system was introduced. (*Guardian*, October 13.)

On October 22 several thousand Pondo tribesmen attended an indaba in the Bizana area to consider the Commission's report. They passed a resolution saying that the tribesmen refused to pay all forms of taxation to the Government. (*The Times*, October 24.)

Subsequently, the Pondo completely boycotted a meeting at Bizana which was to have been addressed by Mr. V. Leibbrandt. About 15,000 tribesmen had been expected to attend. In addition to the widespread boycott of all European centres in Pondoland, the tribesmen have decided to ignore all recruiting calls for African labour for the Witwatersrand mines and the Natal sugar cane estates. (*The Times*, November 8.)

## The Republic, the Commonwealth and South Africa's Economy

At the referendum on October 5 a majority of 74,580 White voters voted in favour of a Republic. The Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, expressed the hope that English-speaking Whites would "form a conservative party on their own with similar colour policies to the Nationalists, so that we can co-operate". . . . He suggested that the Republic might be born on May 31, 1961 (Union Day). In a thanksgiving service at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria he said that the Afrikaans people, as a religious people, had approached the referendum in the spirit that God had to decide what was to be. If it had been God's will that the decision should have been otherwise they would have been prepared to abide by it. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 18.)

An abortive attempt was made for the secession of Natal. The British Press commented on whether South Africa should remain in the Commonwealth. The *Daily Telegraph* (October 7) said: "Those now disposed to 'blackball' a government dedicated to the extremist form of apartheid may have second thoughts when the time comes, if a liberal opposition is then seen to be gathering strength. In any case, the question is not whether South Africa should be punished by boycott and exclusion for her offences against human rights, but how other members of the Commonwealth can best help the victims of these wrongs and support those White South Africans who are trying to change their country's policy."

*The Times* (October 8) under the heading "The Gadarene Trek" referred to the relegation of the Non-Afrikaner to a position of secondary citizenship (including the placing of the English language at a disadvantage). "The objective," the editorial continued, "is not a democratic republic, but a well-disciplined dictatorship, organized to fight a rearguard action against two enemies. The first is freedom of speech and action. The second is recognition that the hour has passed when White men can claim an innate superiority over those of other colours."

Although application to remain in the Commonwealth would be based on the Nationalist Cabinet's self-interest and "a favourable reception for it from other members of the Commonwealth is highly problematical", *The Times* believed it would be a mistake to blackball the Union, "for South Africa is greater than the clique of men with closed minds who now tyrannize over her—and she will outlast them. They will not prevent South Africa being carried sooner or later—either by peaceful methods or by violence—into a completely new and contemporary phase of her existence as a multi-racial society. It is in the light of this that she should not be expelled from the Commonwealth."

*The News Chronicle* and the *Spectator* (October 14) were in favour of South Africa's expulsion. The *Spectator* wrote: "It is no longer possible to maintain that the moral pressure on South Africa will be less if she is outside the Commonwealth: her Government has long since made it clear that no moral arguments have the slightest effect on it. Nor is there much strength in the argument that expulsion from the Commonwealth will increase South Africa's sense of isolation and make her draw ever more tightly into the shell of apartheid and its concomitant beastliness, for it is not at present easy to see how much worse conditions in that country could become. And it has long ceased to be true that the Non-White

majority of the country looks to Britain for help that it would be more difficult to give if South Africa were outside the Commonwealth: the blunt truth is that there is not much help we can give them, whatever South Africa's status." There is, the editorial added, "the slim hope that the economic disadvantages resulting from South Africa's expulsion might bring to their senses not the Government—for it is obviously prepared to ruin the country and all her inhabitants rather than abate one jot of its evil faith—but sufficient of its supporters to bring it down, that the suggestion of so drastic and grim a step is made".

The Earl of Home, Britain's Foreign Secretary, said in Washington that it would be a tragedy if South Africa left the Commonwealth. Britain's attitude to apartheid was clear, but she hoped to exert more influence if South Africa was in the family of nations.

The Prime Minister of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman, said in Toronto that South Africa was "quite out of place among the member-nations of the Commonwealth", but if the other members of the Commonwealth were agreed that South Africa should be admitted, then Malaya would be reluctant to exercise her right of veto out of respect for the views of the other members. These states could help South Africa "see the folly of her policy and help her mend her ways". (*The Times*, October 25.)

Mr. Lewis Nkosi, expressing African opinion in the *S.A. Star* (September 22), said that "arguments about a possible renunciation of South Africa by other members of the Commonwealth and the possible harmful effect this might have upon our economic well-being are not forceful enough for 9 million Africans who have been declared by law not to be an integral part of South Africa. . . . The overriding factor, though, in African indifference to the whole issue of a republic is that to them this seems to be a classical example of fiddling while Rome burns."

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of South Africa's greatest industrial group, Anglo-American Corporation, said in London: "I very much regret South Africa becoming a Republic—but I don't think that it is, in itself, of economic significance. I would be much more worried from the economic point of view if South Africa ceased to be a member of the Commonwealth." Mr. Oppenheimer, the biggest employer of African labour, with 140,000 on the payroll, asked what he considered was now the primary need to improve race relations, declared: "I would say that the primary need is more realistic treatment of that part of the African population which has settled permanently in the towns." (*Daily Telegraph*, October 8.)

During a five-week tour of Britain and the Continent, Dr. Diederichs, the South African Minister of Economic Affairs, said in London that South Africa intended "to stay in the Commonwealth as a Republic. Even if that is not possible, we hope to retain imperial preference on our trade. And if we lose imperial preferences then we shall negotiate new trade agreements with Britain and other Commonwealth countries to our mutual benefit." He added that imperial preferences did not play a very important part in South Africa's economy. "During 1958 only £44 million of our total exports of £600 million came under the preferences. Of course, we wouldn't like to lose even this amount. But its loss would certainly not bring economic collapse." (*The Times*, October 10.)

Mr. W. Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand, has said that a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers is likely to take place early in 1961.

The *S.A. Star* (November 12) reported that the initial planning of the conference was said to be already well on the way. It also commented on current talks between Mr. Eric Louw, South African Minister of External Affairs, and Mr. Harold Macmillan. "It is known that this meeting was arranged at Mr. Louw's request and that he made his transatlantic visit on the instructions of Dr. Verwoerd. There seems no question of the British Government having sought the interview."

"It seems probable, therefore, that before the 'very full discussion' got under way Mr. Louw did formally notify Mr. Macmillan of his Government's intention to establish a republic, and did express its desire that the republic should be within the Commonwealth."

"As the date of May 31 has been widely mentioned as that for a declaration of a republic, and as Dr. Verwoerd will no doubt want to pilot the Bill through himself, his wish for the Prime Ministers' Conference to be held in March or thereabouts can be well understood."

"Everybody, Government and Opposition alike, wants South Africa to remain in the Commonwealth, so the Prime Minister will go to London to

advocate something on which for once there is unanimity, as he himself expected."

South Africa's retiring High Commissioner in London, Dr. van Rhijn, said at a farewell reception that the Commonwealth might decline into a "slow death" if South Africa lost its membership. He criticized British newspaper statements that the Union wanted to stay in the Commonwealth purely for profit. "Let me assure the perpetrators of such nonsense that if the Union's sacrifices for the Commonwealth during the past few decades were weighed against the advantages of her membership during the same period the scale would tip heavily in favour of the former," he said.

Professor O. P. F. Horwood (Natal University) and J. R. Burrows, in two articles in the *Guardian* (September 29 and 30), considered the cost of South Africa leaving the Commonwealth. They pointed out that "the three essential elements of South Africa's economic relations with the rest of the world are: the level of exports (equal to 63 per cent of imports in 1958); the sale of gold (accounting for one-third of foreign exchange earnings in 1958) and the movement of international capital. . . . The United Kingdom accounts for almost a third of South Africa's total trade and the larger part of her trade with the Commonwealth. All the Commonwealth countries together supply something less than half of all imports, and take a little over half of exports."

After listing preferences on the Union's principal merchandise exports to the United Kingdom in 1958 they said: "The exports to the United Kingdom shown above were together worth over £84 million—or almost four-fifths of South Africa's total exports to the United Kingdom, and almost a quarter of her total exports. Out of these commodities about 60 per cent by value (including sugar) were exported under a margin of preference averaging about 10 per cent."

The fact that the development of mines, railways and thriving industries had depended largely on British capital was referred to and "At the end of 1956 over two-thirds of all foreign liabilities in the Union were Commonwealth held, over 60 per cent of them being British. The United Kingdom investments alone amounted to some £866 million."

Recently, however, South Africa, by mobilizing domestic savings, had contributed towards relieving the shortage of international capital.

"The formation of a republican form of government within the Commonwealth is likely to have somewhat less direct, though still highly problematical, repercussions (in the short run at least) upon the economy of the Union. But the inherent danger of the republican issue would seem to be that a change in the constitution of the Union, coming during a period already characterized by political unrest, civil violence, and racial tension, would still further undermine confidence in South Africa as an investment risk."

Qualifications of the main argument included the fact that "while the Commonwealth markets are of fundamental importance to many South African producers, they are not always the only markets open to them". For example, oranges and maize are sold to certain European countries, and, though "Commonwealth preference is still decisive—and altogether vital to some individual industries—it would appear to be of less importance now than it was in the years immediately after the Ottawa Conference in 1932".

The economic effects on the Commonwealth, of South Africa's ceasing to be a member are described as "of minor significance in most instances", for although the Union is normally Britain's fourth best customer, our total purchases from Britain represent less than 5 per cent of her total exports. And, with the principal exception of the Rhodesian Federation, South Africa's importance as a market is of even less value to the remainder of the Commonwealth than it is to the United Kingdom.

A recent South African Reserve Bank brochure reported that the total foreign liabilities of the Union, including South West Africa and the three British High Commission Territories, were £1,528 million at the end of 1959. Nearly two-thirds of it—£903 million—came from Britain alone. About a fifth came from the dollar area and a seventh from Western Europe. The report, however, refers to a "decline in the holdings of securities by foreigners, more especially in the form of ordinary shares".

This, it says, was the main cause of a decrease in private foreign liabilities of £25,600,000 since 1956. South Africa's investments abroad totalled £485,200,000 at the end of last year. This had increased from £411,100,000 in 1956. The largest amounts of it were in the Federation (£141,500,000) and Britain (£118,600,000). (*S.A. Star*, September 19.)

Dr. Verwoerd, on September 12, announced that the Government would hold an inquiry into investment plans in both the private and public sectors of the economy over the next four years. More efficient measures should be applied to encourage standardization and generally promote export trade, as well as the internal consumption of South African products. The Government would encourage industrialists to expand their activities, and extend to prospective industrialists.

Mr. J. J. van Eck, chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation, said in Johannesburg that South Africa can achieve a dynamic economic future without the help of foreign capital.

Anti-South Africa boycotts might well result in the greater ability to establish further industries in the Union without having to face the severe competition from abroad which we have had in the past. The country should look to the internal markets for the products of local industry. (*S.A. Star*, September 21.)

## Economic Effects of Apartheid

### Industrialists' Views

The president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, Mr. D. H. G. Mosenthal, addressing business leaders near Johannesburg, renewed his plea for a change of direction in national race policies. Referring to Dr. Verwoerd's "somewhat violent reaction" to earlier representations by economic leaders in a similar strain, he said these proposals would have been regarded elsewhere as indispensable bases for operating business on Western lines. The Prime Minister had, however, imputed party political motives to responsible business organizations.

Financially, Mr. Mosenthal added, the country could not stand the losses caused by serious trade boycotts or the possible loss or diminution of Commonwealth preferences. (*Guardian*, August 8.)

The right of South African business to run its own affairs was called for by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce in its 1960 report. There must be a relaxation of barriers preventing any member of any race from conducting business anywhere in the Union. These racial restrictions must be eased until they are withdrawn altogether. Job reservation should be repealed. Restrictions on the free movement of labour should be progressively relaxed. Trade unions should, in time and subject to "suitable safeguards", be allowed to represent workers of all races. The report goes on to declare the opposition by organized commerce to Dr. Verwoerd's plan for border industries. The policy of decentralizing industry, it says, is not justified at the present time when the economy is static—"if not declining". (*S.A. Star*, September 20.)

Dr. J. H. Moolman, after sixteen years as chairman of the South African Wool Board, was forced to resign by political pressure. *South Africa* (November 5) reported that "there had been a campaign against him ever since his remarks to a farmers' meeting in Queenstown soon after the Sharpeville and Langa riots earlier this year. He then said that unless the Government drastically changed some of its policies, South Africa could not hope to maintain its international wool markets. Dr. Moolman, who still holds this view, said in an interview in Pretoria: 'That a body set up primarily to promote the sale of South Africa wool should become subject to party politics pressures has shocked me, as it will certainly shock those in command of international wool organizations.' He added: 'I am convinced that the present Government policies must be changed. These, together with the Board's action today, could estrange our partners—Australia and New Zealand—in the International Wool Secretariat. Unless great caution is used, there is a grave danger of this partnership crumbling.'"

### The Boycott Movement

The *Grocer* published statistics that showed that whereas total imports of canned fruit and vegetables in the first half of 1960 are only 10 per cent more than in the same period of 1959, those from South Africa are up by more than 50 per cent.



*Fighting Talk* (October 1960) in an article examining the boycott said it had "not brought about a serious decline in South Africa's trade. For the first seven months of 1960 the value of merchandise exports was £23.4 million higher than that for the corresponding period in 1959 and exports are still increasing". It continued: "The 1959 exports to those countries participating or pledged to participate in the trade boycott are as follows: Ghana £2.2 million; Tanganyika £1 million; Uganda £.6 million; Belgian Congo £2.7 million; Malaya £3 million; Philippines £1.6 million. Compare the total figure with our £6.1 million a year trade with Mozambique which is more likely to expand than to contract. It pales into insignificance when compared with the £53 million of our annual exports to the Rhodesian Federation. The largest of the Union's customers is the United Kingdom (£110 million) and one must accept that both the United Kingdom and the Federation are unlikely to be affected by the boycott movement.

"South Africa's other markets on the African continent are as yet of little importance to her economy. Exports to the United Arab Republic are worth £5 million a year, to the Sudan £1 million, to Ethiopia £1 million and to Nigeria £9 million. Kenya imports £3.5 million worth of goods from the Union and this is the only African territory where a boycott might substantially affect the South African exporter."

Having given this side of the picture the article went on: "At the same time, the boycott movement's indirect and long-term effects are cause for grave concern. Specific industries will be affected—fishing, packaging, machinery, foodstuffs, wattle bark, hides and skins, to mention a few. The loss of the Philippine market will be serious for the fishing industry. Several factories may have to shut down. Supplies of timber from Ghana, Nigeria and Malaya which together constitute South Africa's principal source of hardwoods have been severely disrupted. Hardwood is necessary for railway sleepers, furniture, building and boat building. If these industries are compelled to find other sources, in Brazil, for example, the prices will shoot up and the country's cost of living may be affected accordingly. . . . Even the threat of a boycott by yet another country, irrespective of the value of the exports involved, is sufficient to influence local and foreign investors. And it is this resultant unorganized capital boycott that is in fact far more important than the organized trade boycott. The former may stem partially from the same distaste for the Union's political policies that motivated the trade boycott. It is also due to a sound business and investment sense. For some years now the economic experts have stressed the need for faster economic growth—particularly in secondary industry—to ensure sufficient employment opportunities and rising living standards for an expanding population. Yet the Government persists in following policies that are least likely to induce the confidence necessary to bring this about."

After discussions with the leaders of the South African United Front (Mr. O. Tambo, Mr. N. Mahomo and Dr. Y. Dadoo) the 1960 meeting of the British Trades Union Congress passed unanimously a resolution expressing abhorrence of the South African Government's policy of social discrimination and reaffirmed support for South Africans struggling against that policy. It urged that Government to "allow all workers to enjoy freedom to organize, freedom of speech, freedom of movement and freedom of the Press", and applauded "the efforts of all those who actively supported the boycott of South African goods and asked the General Council to consider, in consultation with the I.C.F.T.U., the practicability of a resumption of the boycott or the adoption of any other measures calculated to bring pressure to bear on the South African Government".

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has expressed herself in favour of a world-wide boycott against South Africa in protest against apartheid. She said: "It seems to me that the policy of South Africa is dangerous for the whole world and may bring bloodshed and death far exceeding what has already occurred." (*S.A. Star*, September 20.)

#### Action of the Church in Wales

The Church in Wales has taken steps to sell its holding of £20,000 Union of South Africa stock because of the unchristian basis of apartheid. (*Daily Telegraph*, September 30.)

#### Unemployment in Natal

*The Times* (September 7) reported that "the severe trade setback caused by the closing of export markets and other effects of racial disturbances and tensions is reflected in a sharp rise in unemployment in Natal. . . . Excluding Africans (who are not entitled to register) two and a half times as many unemployed are now drawing unemployment benefit as in January, 1958. The industries most seriously affected are clothing, manufacturing, building, engineering, and sugar."

#### South African Critics of Apartheid

Two former High Commissioners in London, the Vice-Chancellor of Pretoria and Cape Town Universities, Afrikaner professors and ministers of religion, two generals, two former administrators (of the Transvaal and Natal), the vice-chairman of the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation, and many leaders of industry and commerce, were among the sixty-nine prominent White South Africans who signed "A Declaration of Beliefs". It included the following statement: "We South Africans of both language groups (Afrikaans and English) declare our belief that the great opportunities which await our country can only successfully be realized on the basis of what is right and just for all sections of our population; that no group is superior or inferior to another merely on grounds of race or colour; that every South African, regardless of race, colour, or religion, has an inalienable right to the respect of his personal dignity; and that everything possible should be done to improve the relationship between the different sections of our population."

It called on Dr. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, to reconsider his Government's course and to try making friends with the emerging independent states of Black Africa. (*The Times*, October 21.)

In Johannesburg thirty-one Coloured organizations—social, religious, sporting, and political—were represented at a conference which called for the lifting of the colour bar. The conference unanimously decided to form an association to fight the colour bar in employment, residential grouping, sport, and entertainment, and demanded the representation of Coloured people by Coloureds in Parliament, municipal and provincial councils. The gathering, which had been called by the South African Institute of Race Relations, also decided that the association should work for the removal of industrial colour bar, the complete freedom of labour organization, the extension of free and compulsory education, and the right of admission to any university. The association would not be connected with any political party. (*Guardian*, September 20.)

Mr. Alan Paton, the author and president of the S.A. Liberal Party, on receiving the Freedom Award in New York, said that if the South African Government continued with its present apartheid policies, the country could expect "increasing unrest and conflict". He added that the United Nations might one day "be the only hope for any kind of solution of the bitter problems of South Africa".

#### Natal and the Republic

A twelve-point resolution, calling on the Government to entrench democratic rights and guarantee provincial autonomy in the future was passed unanimously by the Natal Provincial Council. Natal's four Nationalist Party M.P.C.s were absent. They boycotted the special session because they claimed that the resolution was an assault on the constitution. Mr. E. J. V. Grantham, M.E.C., described their action as an insult. Natal had done its best to co-operate in the past, he said: "But the Prime Minister and others in power today must realize there are certain rights and privileges that must be enshrined for the future."

Mr. E. C. Wilks, M.E.C., said Coloured people had had the franchise at the time of Union and had voted. It seemed ironical that they had voted for Union under the Crown but had been denied the right to express their views whether or not South Africa should continue under the Crown.

The resolution called for guarantees of five "fundamental democratic rights" (including freedom of worship, freedom of the Press, freedom of universities) and seven provincial powers, including control over education and over provincial administration employees. (*South Africa*, November 12.)

## Passport and Visa Refusals and Arrivals and Departures

Mr. Lewis Nkosi, 23-year-old chief reporter of the *Golden City Post*, was refused a passport when he applied to go to the United States to take up the Niemann Fellowship at Harvard University. He therefore applied for an exit permit which allows him to leave South Africa permanently. Mr. Nkosi said that after spending a year at Harvard he will return to Africa. "I belong to Africa," he said. If he returns to the Union he will commit an offence against the conditions under which his exit permit was granted. (*The Times*, November 12.)

The *S.A. Star* (November 11) commented: "At times it is difficult to resist suspicion that before taking certain types of action members and officials of the present administration consult the South African Information Service to ensure that they can achieve the maximum amount of unfavourable publicity abroad. . . .

"At first the decision on whether or not he (Mr. Nkosi) should be allowed a passport was delayed past the opening date of the Harvard year—so that the Government's dilatory methods with passport applications from Non-Whites achieved wide notoriety in the United States. Then, after ensuring this period of well-publicized and painful uncertainty, the passport was finally refused. . . .

"Secondly the Niemann Fellowship is one of the prized awards in American journalism. Many of the best and most influential of current American journalists have been awarded this honour; there is hardly a young journalist in the United States who does not dream of achieving it. The deprivation imposed on Mr. Nkosi is one which will be readily understood and sympathetically felt throughout the American Press.

"Thus this action is not merely one which will earn immediate adverse publicity; it is also one calculated to confirm, in a matter close to their own lives, the hostile judgement of South African policies and administration already held by the bulk of those who decide what news will reach the American."

Mr. S. K. Ngqangweni, principal of an African secondary school, was refused a passport to Ghana, where he had been offered a post as lecturer in mathematics.

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mrs. Newton Thompson, said that Coloured people "broken hearted and broken spirited" were taking up 20 per cent of the tourist accommodation in ships to Britain.

Mr. Louis Armstrong, the famous Negro musician, was refused entrance to South Africa by the Government on the grounds that it would not be "in the interests of the country at this stage". A similar ban was placed on another well-known American band, which included Negro and Cuban players. (*The Times*, September 26.)

Mr. John Stonehouse, British Labour M.P., was declared a prohibited immigrant on September 14.

A Swedish geographer, Mr. Olof G. Tandberg, who was awarded a scholarship to the University of Natal, has been refused a visa to enter South Africa. He planned to complete research for his M.A. treatise on the development of the Indian demographic group in South Africa, while his wife had an appointment as a nurse at a Durban hospital. (*S.A. Star*, September 22.)

## Sharpeville: Government Indemnifies Itself Against Victims' Claims

Final claims for damages by the victims of the Sharpeville shootings, when police killed sixty-seven Africans and wounded more than 176, totalled about £400,000. Among the claims are sixty by widows and mothers for loss of support through either death or permanent injury of the breadwinner. Two of the claimants are widows with eighteen children between them. At first the Minister of Justice, Mr. Erasmus, announced that he would defend all the 216 claims.

The report of the one-man judicial commission was handed to the Minister at the end of September and had not been published at the date of going to press.

On October 21, the Minister announced that legislation will be introduced at the forthcoming parliamentary session to indemnify the State and its officials against claims resulting from action taken during the Sharpe-

ville and Langa riots last March and the subsequent state of emergency. (*Guardian*, October 22.)

Ex-Chief Lutuli, the banned former president-general of the banned African National Congress, commented that the Government's action was a callous admission of its liability for the shootings. The Chief hoped that every law society, bar council and other organization will help their country and will accept their responsibility to protect us against this action. (*Sunday Times*, October 23.)

## New Police Activity and Bans on Meetings

A number of meetings planned by the Liberal Party in the Cape early in October were banned. When the Party was refused permission to hold public meetings in Alexandra township, Johannesburg, they proceeded to meet in private backyards. The police and Security Branch have attended on occasions.

The security police raided the office of the multi-racial S.A. Congress of Trade Unions in Johannesburg on September 21 and 26, searching officials and removing documents relating to the £1 a day wage campaign. The African Federation of Free African Trade Unions was also searched as well as houses of three former members of the banned African National Congress. The homes of African officials of the Nyasaland Malawi Congress in South Africa, and of the Cape Liberal Party, were also searched. (*S.A. Star*, September 27; *Rand Daily Mail*, September 21, 27 and 28; *The Times*, September 22.)

In Cato Manor township, near Durban, police fired volleys with sten guns over the heads of an African crowd when a Saracen armoured car and a police lorry were heavily stoned. The incident occurred near the spot where nine policemen were killed early this year. The crowd tried to rescue an African who had been arrested after the driver of a bus for Non-Whites had been stabbed in an affray. (*The Times*, October 3.)

## Durban Shootings on April 1 "Justified"

The Durban Magistrates Court, after admitting several lengthy statements by police and public, heard evidence that a policeman fired on an armed African to save the life of his comrade and that two other policemen were forced to fire at two Africans to save their own lives. In each case the magistrate found the firing "justified". (*S.A. Star*, September 21.)

## Treason Trial End in Sight

The defence closed its case on October 7, Professor Z. K. Matthews, formerly vice-principal of Fort Hare University College, being the last witness.

The *Bulletin* of the Treason Trials Defence Fund (September) said: "It was becoming apparent that the Crown was laying great emphasis on suggestions of violence, trying to elicit literal and military interpretations in the context of the trial, of such words as 'army', 'struggle', 'volunteer'. The defence task was to establish the non-violent connotations of these words: that the 'army of liberation' was, in Congress intention, no more violent than the Salvation Army; the 'freedom struggle' was to be waged by means of strikes, boycotts, stay-at-homes; the blood so often referred to was the blood of the unarmed people themselves, and witnesses quoted many instances of its shedding by police in dispersing demonstrators. Violence, all witnesses insist against intense Crown pressure, is outside the policy of the Congresses."

On November 7, Mr. J. Trengrove, Q.C., opening the argument for the Crown, said it would be submitted that the Crown had proved beyond reasonable doubt that every one of the accused was engaged in a plot against the State, of a nature which if allowed to continue its course would have ended in bloodshed, death, and disaster for both Black and White citizens of South Africa. (*The Times*, November 8.)

In the four years, the Treason Trial Defence Fund has spent some £150,000. The *Bulletin* points out that the trial in its 16,000-page record has written the history of an era in South Africa, has put on record, often most movingly in the words of the sufferers, the centuries-old disabilities of the Non-Whites. It is an expensive record, but history tends to be costly. Finally the Treason Trial has become for the world a symbol of the fight to maintain the processes of justice and the rights of individuals in the courts.

In appealing for a further £35,000 the Fund explains that every effort is made to limit expenditure, but it cannot be further pared. It is impossible to effect economies by reducing the defence team; fewer advocates could not assimilate and deal with the mass of material the Crown has thrown into the case without greatly lengthening proceedings. This would not reduce the legal costs and would extend welfare payments and overheads for many months longer.

That the welfare side of the expenditure is relatively low, is, in itself, a justification of the Fund's policy: bail kept the accused at liberty and some of them partly self-supporting; and the vigorous and able defence resulted in a reduction in the number of accused from 156 to ninety-one, and of those validly charged from ninety-one to thirty. But besides that, the accused deliberately asked for little and their families have suffered much, so that the defence should take priority.

### Restrictions and Poverty

Mr. C. M. Kobus, an African attorney in Cape Town, was deprived of his practice by the enforcement of the law forbidding Africans from occupying chambers in the city.

Mr. G. M. Pitje, an African attorney in Johannesburg, lost his appeal against a conviction for contempt of court for refusing to occupy a separate Non-European table in a court.

Meanwhile, distinguished Africans and Asians from abroad are now accommodated at leading White hotels in the cities.

The Minister of Labour's determination enforcing job reservations in the clothing industry is being legally challenged. An injunction was granted in the Natal division of the Supreme Court prohibiting him from giving effect to a provision under which Africans who lost their jobs in the clothing industry after November 6 were not entitled to new employment within the industry.

Three out of four African households are unable to pay for even the bare essentials of life out of their combined household wage packets, according to a report presented to a meeting of local industrialists by Professor O. Horwood, Professor of Economics at the University of Natal. He said that a survey showed that the average individual wage of all African workers was slightly less than £3 2s. a week, and household expenditure on the bare necessities exceeded the total wage income by £1 12s. a week. (*The Times*, November 10.)

### Fort Hare Restrictions Increased

"Mr. Willie Maree, the Minister of Bantu Education, announced a tightening up of regulations concerning the admission, control and discipline at Fort Hare University College in an Extraordinary Government Gazette issued in Pretoria. For example: each application for admission must be accompanied by a testimonial of good conduct from a minister of religion, Bantu Affairs Commissioner, or magistrate of the district in which the applicant resides, and a certificate of health from the district surgeon. . . .

"Other rules include a ban on press statements, restrictions on students' movements, visitors and organizations, and a close watch on student magazines and publications." (*South Africa*, October 15.)

### Passes for Women

The Ministry of Bantu Administration announced in October that the date on which it will be compulsory for African women to carry passes had been postponed from December 1 because he wanted to treat them "with the utmost reasonableness". The new date would coincide more or less with that on which possession of identity cards would be made compulsory for White persons. It is understood that this will be January 1961.

### Attacks on the Press

Patrick Duncan (editor of *Contact*, leading member of the Liberal Party, former District Commissioner in Basutoland and son of the first South African Governor-General of the Union) who went voluntarily to jail in the 1952 passive resistance campaign, was committed to eight days'

imprisonment when he refused to disclose sources of information and the identity of people mentioned in an article on Communism in South Africa. In his remarks to the magistrate he said his decision was irrevocable and "it is one of the principal canons of the newspaper profession that an editor is on his honour not to reveal his sources".

The article in *Contact* referring to the new Communist Party said: "When the list of committee members is examined there is not one single fresh name, not one new recruit. Like the British Communist Party, now dying on its feet, the South African body is also an ageing party. Democrats can derive much satisfaction from this fact." (*Guardian*, October 4.)

At the end of the week, Mr. Duncan was imprisoned for a further eight days. He said he was prepared to stay in prison for twenty years if necessary, but would not disclose the names of his informants. After three weeks he was released. The public prosecutor said that the required information had been obtained from other sources and there was no longer "any necessity at this stage to detain Mr. Duncan further for the purposes of this inquiry". (*The Times*, October 25.)

John Sutherland, editor of the *S.A. Evening Post*, was charged with printing a subversive statement within the meaning of the South African emergency regulations. The charge arose from an article concerning an interview with two Canadian tourists, who described South Africa as "a country afraid to talk". Mr. D. B. Molteno, Q.C., for Mr. Sutherland, said the charge was vague and embarrassing. He asked the magistrate to instruct the prosecutors to supply more particulars, and, if these were not supplied, for an order quashing the charge. The case was adjourned (*The Times*, October 18.)

Brian Parkes, an English-born journalist in Johannesburg, was imprisoned for a day for refusing to divulge sources of information used in an article written by him. It was learnt later that the police had obtained the information they wanted. He had refused to name a local bookmaker said to be offering three to one odds against Dr. Verwoerd winning. It is an offence in South Africa to make bets on the outcome of an election. The South African Society of Journalists issued a statement expressing "alarm at what appears to be a pattern of intimidation of journalists and of a threat to the freedom of the Press". The statement continued: "It is well known to police and others that journalists would be betraying one of the basic principles of journalistic ethics all over the world—the determination not to dishonour a confidence—by disclosing such information given in confidence." (*The Times*, October 14.)

At a meeting in Bloemfontein the Congress of Afrikaans Chambers of Commerce has called upon the Government to bring about "the essential and permanent discipline of the South African Press". (*Daily Telegraph*, September 15.)

Dr. Carel de Wet, Nationalist M.P., described by *The Times* (October 19) as a persistent parliamentary critic of newspapers, proposed that a permanent press commissioner with two assessors should be appointed to investigate untrue, distorted and inciting press reports with punishment of the originators.

### Referee's Decision

Mr. J. C. Hatch, a member of the London Society of Rugby Football Referees, asked that he should not be considered as a referee for any of the matches of the South African touring team. In a letter to the secretary of the Rugby Football Union, he wrote: "I should make it clear that my request is not intended to cast any reflection on the members of the South African team. I know nothing of their political or racial opinions which are in any case irrelevant to the issue. I have always completely separated sport from politics, an attitude I believe to be taken by all sportsmen in this country. Unfortunately the South African Government and the rugby authorities do not accept this principle. In the selection of this team, as in the case of all South African sporting teams, no Non-European is considered for selection.

"White players and clubs are not even allowed to play with or against Non-Europeans. In short, in South Africa the universally accepted principle that sportsmen ignore racial and coloured differences is deliberately flouted. It is the South African authorities who have introduced politics into sport. In these circumstances, one has to consider whether any form of participation with teams based on racial discrimination is, in effect,



conniving at the apartheid principle. I believe that it is and must, therefore, avoid doing so." (*Guardian*, October 18.)

## Defence and Airways

A warning to the British Government to reverse its decision to accept South African paratroopers for training in Britain was given by Mr. Alan Paton, the president of the South African Liberal Party, when he spoke at a demonstration in Eastbourne, at the time of the British Liberal Party assembly. He asked: "What do you think these paratroopers are going to be used for? In defence of the West? South Africa is not an asset to the West but rather a burden to it at present." The training of these men could not assist Mr. Macmillan in his work at the United Nations or Mr. Sandys and Mr. Macleod in the very important work that lay ahead in Africa. The meeting approved the dispatch of a telegram to the Prime Minister protesting against the training of South African paratroops in Britain. (*Guardian*, October 1.)

The Minister of Defence, Mr. Fouché, announced in Johannesburg on October 18 that South Africa is to develop an armaments industry which will eventually supply the bulk of the weapons and ammunition needed by its armed forces.

In Washington the Export-Import Bank announced that it would lend up to \$16 million (about £5,714,000) to South Africa to assist South African Airways to buy three Boeing 707 jet aircraft.

## Training in Sabotage Denied

A report in the *Rand Daily Mail* (September 2) that the "Ghana Government is recruiting Africans from the Union to go to Ghana for political and military training—this will include methods of sabotage" is incorrect, reports *Contact* (October 8). The true attitude of the Ghana Government was contained in the resolutions adopted at the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security, held in Accra in April. Some of these were: "Non-violent positive action for carrying the struggle to a successful end; boycott of the Union by independent African States; severing diplomatic relations with the Union; revocation of the South West Africa mandate."

*Contact* adds: "In practical application of the resolutions of the conference, Ghana thinks of setting up a political training centre in Winneba, thirty miles from Accra. Michael Randall, friend of Michael Scott, may help to run the centre. The emphasis at the centre will be on political training in non-violent methods."

## New Senate

On October 26 a new and smaller Senate was elected in Cape Town. The fifty-four members replace the ninety introduced in 1955 to give the Nationalist Government the two-thirds majority needed to remove the Cape Coloured people from the common voters' roll. Forty-three members are elected by electoral colleges comprising M.P.s and provincial councillors of four provinces and members of the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa. The Government nominates eleven, one of whom represents Coloured people.

## S.A.B.R.A. Congress

Addressing the Transvaal Congress of the S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs, Dr. A. L. Geyer, former High Commissioner in London, said events in Africa and the world had deprived the Union of vitally necessary time. On the other hand, much time was needed for the development of its Bantu policy. "We have not ten years," he said. "We cannot regard the urban Bantu as a whole as temporary residents." He added: "I have wondered whether the emphasis in our approach to these things should not shift to some extent. There exist numerous restrictive regulations which are considered necessary for smooth administration. It would perhaps yield rich fruits if one and all were examined under the searchlight. . . . Remember, we are not dealing with an abstract problem but with people—people whose goodwill we must keep or gain." (*Die Burger*, September 12.)

## The Churches

The deportation of the Bishop of Johannesburg aroused widespread protests. The Archbishop of Canterbury said he was "deeply sorry". In

the Union the Archbishop of Cape Town, Dr. Joost de Blank, the Roman Catholic Archbishops Denis Hurley and Owen McCann, Chief Rabbis Rabinowitz and Abrahams, the president of the Methodist Conference, the Rev. Dr. Leslie Hewson, and the head of the Methodist Church in the Transvaal, the Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, were among the prominent church leaders who protested. Political and other groups which condemned the Government's action included the United Party, the Progressive Party, the Liberal Party, the Black Sash, the S.A. Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the S.A. Congress of Trades Unions and the Students' Representative Council of Cape Town University. (*Newsletter*, Institute of Race Relations, London, October.)

The African newspaper *The World* (September 17) commented that "in the eyes of thousands—nay, millions—of Africans, Bishop Reeves is a great and good man. They will remember him for his fearlessness as a champion of human rights. They will honour him for his investigations into the Sharpeville shootings. . . ."

Mr. B. J. Schoeman, the Minister of Labour, said that the Government had decided to deport the Bishop because he had accused the police of using dum-dums and then refused to give proof of his allegation. The Bishop replied that this was "quite untrue". He said that after the Sharpeville shooting he was advised at Baragwanath Hospital that "many of the wounded had small wounds where the bullets entered and large exit wounds. The doctors at the hospital were shocked at the severe injuries and because of their reports to me I felt obliged to request that inquiries be made into the type of ammunition used by the police. This was a simple question which the police authorities could have answered easily and should have answered readily. At no time did I make any allegation that dum-dum bullets were used." (*South Africa*, September 24.)

The conference called by the World Council of Churches is taking place in Johannesburg on December 7-14 despite the absence of Bishop Reeves, the Anglican Church having withdrawn its insistence that he should be enabled to attend.

*Die Kerkbode*, official organ of the Dutch Reformed Church, referred to the "shocking indifference" with which the Congo events were viewed by the same world opinion which, only a few months before, had been boiling over with indignation about events in South Africa. "The sudden flight of more than 40,000 people, their robbing and humiliation, is observed with a shrug of the shoulders," the article stated. Even as a minority group under the new rule, those people surely had rights which called for recognition. But human rights, the much abused slogan of our age—especially among the revolutionaries—seemed to be reserved for everybody but White people.

## Pratt Mentally Disordered

David Pratt, the farmer who is alleged to have shot and wounded Dr. Verwoerd, was deemed mentally disordered and not tried. On September 26 he was committed to prison pending the Governor-General's decision to have him sent to a mental institution.

# South West Africa

## Case Before the International Court

THE Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia filed proceedings in the International Court of Justice at The Hague on November 4. They are charging the Union of South Africa with violating its duties as Mandatory of South West Africa.

Contentious proceedings against the Union were brought in accordance with a resolution unanimously adopted on June 23, 1960, by the Second Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Independent States of Africa, in jointly recommending the institution of these proceedings, have agreed to co-operate in all respects.

The Union is charged with numerous violations of the Mandate, as well as of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, under which the Mandate was conferred in December 1920.

Among the principal charges against the Union is its practice of apartheid, and other policies of racial discrimination, which grossly violate

the Union's duty under the Mandate. The applications request the court to adjudge and declare "that the Union has the duty forthwith to cease the practice of apartheid in the Territory".

Another major violation charged to the Union is its suppression of rights and liberties of inhabitants of the Territory essential to their orderly evolution toward self-government.

It is alleged that the violations have been the subject of a long-standing dispute with the Union Government, and that despite continued efforts to persuade the Union to comply with the Mandate, it has not proved possible to settle the dispute by negotiation.

The applications invoke the jurisdiction of the Court under Article 7 of the Mandate for South West Africa. In that article, the Union agreed to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice any dispute with "another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the Mandate. . . ." Ethiopia and Liberia, now members of the United Nations, were members of the League of Nations.

The applications refer to the Advisory Opinion of the International Court, rendered July 11, 1950, in which the Court ruled that the Mandate is still in force, that the United Nations has succeeded to the supervisory functions of the League of Nations, and that the Union is under a duty to comply with the obligations and terms of the Mandate instrument. The Mandate requires the Union "to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory. . . ."

In addition to apartheid, other violations complained of include laws and practices such as limiting the franchise to persons of "European" descent; denying equal access to education, according to merit, and depriving "native" children of adequate educational facilities; segregating residential areas by law according to race or tribal origin; forbidding trade union membership to "Non-Europeans"; excluding "natives" from numerous occupations; subjecting employees to criminal penalty for breaching terms of employment; requiring "natives" to possess a pass to travel beyond the confines of a particular location, reserve, farm or place of residence or employment; denying grants or leases of land to "natives, Asians or Coloured persons"; subjecting "natives" to curfew orders and to forcible deportation at the discretion of the Administrator of the Territory, without right of appeal or judicial review; prohibiting "native" membership to political parties, under severe criminal penalties, including corporal punishment.

The applications also allege that the Union has violated the Mandate by exercise of powers of administration and legislation over the Territory inconsistent with international status of the Territory.

The Union is, in addition, charged with refusal to transmit to the United Nations petitions from the Territory's inhabitants and failing to submit annual reports to the United Nations with regard to its administration of the Territory.

The applications request the court to adjudicate and declare that the acts complained of violate the Mandate and to require the immediate cessation of such violations.

At a news conference to announce their Governments' action, Dr. Tesfaye Gebre-Egzy, delegate of Ethiopia, and Nathan Barnes of Liberia were accompanied by Andre Akapo of Togo, chairman of the African-Asian group of states at the United Nations, and Mburumba Kerina, a petitioner from South West Africa, who will testify before the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee. The principal spokesman was Ernest A. Gross.

Interest in the case is widespread because South Africa has resisted attempts over the last fifteen years to have its League of Nations Mandate reclassified as a trusteeship under the United Nations. (*New York Times*, November 5.)

#### British Liberals' Statements

The Commonwealth Committee of the British Liberal Party urged the British Government not to recognize the result of the South African Republic referendum, "which could put many millions of Her Majesty's subjects outside the allegiance without their consent". The statement went on: "In the case of the inhabitants of the mandated territory of South

West Africa, the legal position would appear to be that the Union of South Africa could not legally take them out of the allegiance (to the Crown) without the consent of the General Assembly of the United Nations, even if the United Kingdom Parliament agreed."

Mr. Donald Wade, M.P., Liberal Party Whip in the House of Commons, declared that "South Africa should hand over South West Africa to United Nations control. If the South African Government refuses to do this I think it is the duty of Britain and other members of the Commonwealth not to agree to her renewal of membership." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, October 7 and 11.)

#### African Opinion

Speaking in New York to the United Nations Committee on South West Africa, Mr. Mburumba Kerina, who recently visited West Africa, said the case being brought before the International Court "is our first positive step towards the complete emancipation of our country from the Union Government and I am convinced that the future is in our favour. Very soon South West Africa will have African Ministers in its Government."

Addressing the Danish Association for the United Nations at Holback, Mr. Hans Beukes, a student from South West Africa, referred to the terrible drought in South West Africa. He added: "The Administration has provided help to Europeans that have been affected since last year, but to the Africans no such State help has been given. Instead, the Administrator early this year appealed to all the White employers to dismiss all the Non-White labour they could dispense with in order to create a surplus of labour that could be controlled at will, so that they could force the application of apartheid down without opposition."

After describing the restrictions suffered by Non-Europeans there, he went on: "When people hear about these shocking things, if they can still shock, they ask, how can we help? And when we suggest how it can be done, then we are told to wait; we shouldn't do anything that would harden the feelings of the South Africans." But, he said, "the case of South West Africa poses an inescapable challenge to you. If you can help us to achieve United Nations Trusteeship, as all our people asked for, we should be getting the help we need in order to bring about a change. . . . But a boycott in itself is a negative action which can only succeed if it is heeded. It is therefore far from enough. What would be far more impressive, and practicable, I consider, is for those countries who feel that they have been aggrieved by the way their trust has been abused, to say so, and to act in a way which would demonstrate their sincerity to remedy the wrongs that have been committed in their name. The gesture should be significant in the developments in Africa."

After describing the thirty-seventh annual Maharero Day celebrations at Okahandja, the *South West News* (September 3) referred to the break away from the Rhenish Church made by most Hereros about five years ago. It said: "But until last year a relationship in respect of the Maharero Day has been maintained. A disagreement between leaders and the general situation of the day has brought this relationship to an end."

"And so the gap, between the people and these White missionaries, the German people or the White population as a whole has been given an extra width as the people were forced to abandon a church which was built by their own chiefs. This evergrowing hatred is not the result of the inhuman actions committed by the German soldiers in the early days of colonialism in South West Africa. For the Hereros never carry a war grudge since they believe that there will be an end to their defeat. And that temporary defeat is a natural thing. The hatred has more to do with the crazy ideology of apartheid."

"In the past the Hereros have always tended to overlook the cruel deeds of the Germans during 1904 and the two or three years thereafter. After all, it was at the beginning of the twentieth century and the philosophy of Darwin—the survival of the fittest—was fresher, we have said. . . . But then came the politics of apartheid-Broederbond-Basskap and the Germans went for it. . . . And so as the days draw nearer to the Apartheid Union Republic which may affect our territory adversely we have only to sit and watch the Germans support the Afrikaner Nationalists. They on the other hand seem to wonder why the Hereros are abandoning their churches."

## Herero Journalist Deported

Emile Appoulis, an African journalist of the Herero tribe who fled from Windhoek to Bechuanaland during the South African emergency, was deported to Johannesburg from the Rhodesian Federation as a prohibited immigrant. Immigration authorities said Appoulis crossed from Bechuanaland to Bulawayo, where he obtained temporary employment without a permit to stay in Rhodesia, and then went to Katanga province in the Congo.

In Elisabethville, the Katanga capital, he acted as correspondent for a number of African publications to get money to go to Ghana and then to the United States to present his case against the South African Government to the Trusteeship Committee. He returned to Rhodesia and was arrested at Ndola, Northern Rhodesia. Immigration authorities are now seeking his wife and three children. (*Guardian*, October 6.)

## Petitions to Fourth Committee

Eight petitioners have been heard by the United Nations Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee this year. They were Jarirentundu Kozonguizi, Rev. Markus Kooper, Rev. Michael Scott, Mburumba Kerina, Jacob Kuhangua, Sam Nujoma, Ismail Fortune and Mr. Oliver Tambo.

In the course of his evidence, the Rev. Michael Scott referred to the disturbances in Windhoek which led to the death of thirteen Africans. He said: "The blame for these disturbances was attributed by Mr. Justice Hall to some of my co-petitioners here, and this was reinforced by the South African Minister of Defence this year in the Fourth Committee where he even went further to attribute part of the blame to the United Nations for attaching credence to what has been said by petitioners here. Mr. Eric Louw, the Minister, sought to represent this matter as a question of communism versus 'western' civilization. . . .

"We are witnessing in Africa today a gathering of the forces of white racialism. . . . Discussion on mutual assistance and recruiting is going on. Nothing could be more calculated to bring about the polarization between Black and White and its disastrous identification with East versus West in Africa, and communism versus non-communism. The South African Minister claims himself to be the defender of the free world in Africa and his system to be the alternative to the threat of communism. Members of the Fourth Committee will appreciate the hollowness of this argument. . . ."

Mr. Scott quoted from *The Times* leader (September 14)<sup>1</sup> which concluded: ". . . There is only one verdict possible in this sorry business. A mandate has been stolen and the thieves are vainly protesting their innocence", and he added: "Thus it can be seen that the introduction by Mr. Eric Louw of the question of communism only serves to conceal the true realities of what is happening there from those whose hatred and fear of communism may be making them blind to the considerations of truth, justice, and humanity."

Referring to the visit to Peking of one of the petitioners Mr. Scott said: "Why should Mr. Kozonguizi have gone off to Peking in search of what he had sought in the West and through the United Nations? I must disagree with him, and his chiefs do not support him in this, for the United Nations has always given us the courtesy of a full and fair hearing which we have not had in Africa about all the wrongs which are being suffered by the people there. . . . Even now the African people of South West Africa are without any representation. Meetings cannot be held without fear of deportation or imprisonment. Is it to be wondered at that a young African might set out to see for himself what is really happening behind what his jailers have called the iron curtain. . . . Before you allow his impatience to cause you any resentment against him and those dissident few whom he represents, would you not try to understand the resentment which he has felt? Is it not possible that it comes from the regard he has deep down for the sufferings of his people and his impatience at the delay and unwillingness of certain powers to bring help and support to them in their righteous struggle against the wrongs their people suffer? It is thus that in a sense South West Africa is a microcosm of the whole problem of Africa." Later Mr. Scott said that his remarks were not intended to reflect on the courage or integrity of the petitioner whose Mandate was to come to the United Nations where he now spoke for those he represented.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 2.

Of the case before the International Court Mr. Scott said: "It is a matter of profound thankfulness that two African states who were members of the League of Nations have decided to seek recourse to the International Court for compulsory jurisdiction under Article 37 of the Mandate and Article 36 of the statutes of the Court. There are some who are complaining of the possible lengthy proceedings and who suggest further reference to the Court for advisory opinions. It is therefore only right to remind the Committee that Chief Hosea Kutako asked as long ago as 1950 that the judgement of the Court should be sought. That was after the first advisory opinions had been given and also disregarded by the South African Government. . . . But it is not necessary to await the judgement of the Court before making attempts to bring the minority which has the franchise to their senses by means of sanctions and by an organized boycott which would face the rulers of South Africa with the necessity of making new decisions, of making decisive changes in their policies toward the African people as a condition of their own survival."

In preparation for any emergency which might arise in the Territory, Mr. Scott suggested that the General Assembly should appoint a board of experts which should act in close consultation with the Committee on South West Africa and the petitioners from there as well as with representatives of the specialized agencies who would have to be empowered by resolution of the Assembly to assist the Committee. Together these should have the task of drawing up detailed plans for economic and social, as well as educational and political reconstruction in South West Africa.

Mr. Scott called on the United Kingdom to abandon its policy of the past fifteen years on South West Africa and to adopt one more compatible with its own policies towards Ghana, Nigeria and Tanganyika. He also asked that the Netherlands Government should invite Chief Hosea to The Hague to hear the proceedings in the Court, and asked that he should be allowed to return to South West Africa to report to the chiefs and people.

Letters received from Chiefs Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi were read to the Committee. These reported the shooting of an African woman on October 1 by three Europeans; there had been witnesses and the matter was reported to the police, but so far as the chiefs were aware no court action had been taken. The case of two bushmen working for a European farmer was also described; the farmer fired a rifle at their wives who ran away with their children and while in hiding two babies died of thirst. Other cases of assault and intimidation by Europeans against Africans were described and the chiefs wrote to the United Nations Secretary-General: "We are of the belief that nothing short of a United Nations presence in the territory could stop this terror."

Mr. Oliver Tambo said the "resolute pursuit of gruesome policies" in South West Africa, in the face of "mounting indignation" on the part of the entire people of Africa and the whole civilized world was the "type of insanity" which the United Nations could only condone or permit at the expense of much desired peace and of its own effectiveness as an instrument for safeguarding and guaranteeing the welfare and security of the peoples of the world. He spoke of the "defiance" that the Union Government had shown for world opinion and for the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the issue of South West Africa.

Mr. Tambo visited Windhoek after the riots in December 1959, having been asked to take legal action to prevent or stay the deportation of four African leaders. On his arrival he was intercepted by police officers and the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner. He was asked if he had a permit to enter the territory and, as he did not have one, was instructed to return to Johannesburg by the next plane. Meanwhile he was warned not to leave the airport. Mr. Tambo was then permitted to interview Sam Nujomo (also one of the petitioners) and another person. Two hours later the Commissioner returned, accompanied by six police officers, two of whom were in civilian clothes but armed with revolvers. Two in uniform carried rifles, he said. He was informed that he would have to remain all night in the airport. He was not allowed to talk to anyone, including his clients, nor was he allowed to telephone or speak to any lawyer either in regard to his own position or to arrange for legal assistance for the deportees.

At this stage, Mr. Tambo said, Jacob Kuhangua (now a petitioner) was under arrest and awaiting removal. The two armed policemen



remained all night in the room. Two policemen who carried rifles patrolled all night outside his room. He returned to Johannesburg the following morning. In South West Africa, he added, Africans had no lawyers to defend them. After such treatment of leaders of the people, and their attorney, it was easy to imagine the "degree of intimidation" felt by "ordinary people", he suggested.

Mr. Tambo then stated that representatives of the Union of South Africa in the United Nations would "tell this Committee of communistic petitioners and communist organizations". They would treat the Committee to learned argumentation on legal doctrines of limitless variety. What their government would not do, he suggested, was to "respect a single resolution or demand" of the Committee or of the United Nations bearing on "the reign of terror and murder so closely identifiable with the policy of apartheid and white supremacy".

Mr. Quaison-Sackey (Ghana) asked the Rev. Markus Kooper how adequate were rural water supplies in the territory and what steps had the administration taken to help the Africans during the drought in South West Africa? Mr. Kooper replied that water, which he had tasted, had been sent to Pretoria and condemned as not good for human beings or animals. Nevertheless, a windmill had been erected at the well concerned and "the man drilling the well" had told a welfare officer that the water was not as dangerous as Pretoria had suggested and was fit to drink. So far as he knew the administration had done "absolutely nothing" to help the Africans during the period of the severe drought in past years.

Mr. Kozonguizi in reply to a question from Mr. Quaison-Sackey said that there was no agricultural services designed to help or educate African farmers or improve their situation in any way. But White farmers benefited from aid given by the Land and Agricultural Bank.

Mr. Victorio D. Carpio (Philippines) asked the petitioners to explain, in the absence of an early peaceful solution, how long would it be before the matter would develop into a racial war. Mr. Nujoma said the situation, particularly in Windhoek, was "very critical". Those who lived in the old location today were being "threatened" that they must move to the new location at Katatura, to which they objected, he said. (*United Nations Press Release*, November 16.)

## WEST AFRICA Angola

### Background Facts

AREA: 481,000 square miles—ten times the size of England and over half as big as the former Belgian Congo, on which it borders. Population about 4,750,000, of whom some 170,000 are White, 30,000 Coloured and the rest African. Capital: Luanda (founded 1576; population about 200,000). Population density of about nine to a square mile is among the lowest in Black Africa, and modern economic development has only just begun.

Chief communications artery is the British-owned Benguela Railway, connecting the port of Lobito with the mining areas of Northern Rhodesia and Katanga. Chief products: coffee, diamonds, and fish-meal. About 80,000 tons of oil a year are produced by the Petrofina company, south of the Cuanza river, and oil prospecting is going on near the mouth of the Congo. Mineral resources are believed to be considerable.

The two tiny islands of Sao Tome and Principe, in the Gulf of Guinea, are administered independently, although they have close economic connexions with Angola. (*The Times*, November 7.)

### Reports of Violence

According to the London representative of the Popular Liberation Movement for Angola, a third major massacre in the Portuguese colony since 1953 has recently taken place in Angola.

According to the source, the people from the Angolan village of Bengo, the birthplace of Dr. Neto, who is president of the clandestine nationalist organization, and from the neighbouring village of Icolo decided to go to

their District Office shortly after the arrest of Dr. Neto on June 8 to demand his release.

The District Officer reacted by calling for reinforcements from the capital. Some 200 soldiers armed with Sten guns arrived. About a thousand inhabitants from Bengo and Icolo began a peaceful demonstration for the release of Dr. Neto and were immediately fired on by the soldiers. Thirty were killed and 200 injured. On the following day the soldiers went to the two villages, where they killed or arrested everyone found in them. They then set the two villages on fire, completely destroying them. (*Guardian*, October 11.)

The Press Counsellor of the Portuguese Embassy in London wrote: "You published a short article reproducing what was quite aptly called a 'Nationalists' Story' about a 'massacre' which is supposed to have taken place recently in Angola.

"I am in a position to state categorically that this thoroughly base allegation is totally devoid of foundation, but my purpose in writing is not so much to refute it as to protest against the fact of its publication in the *Guardian* when clearly no steps were taken to make sure that the public would not as a result be misled. You are, of course, entitled to disagree with the line taken by Portugal in Africa, but this hardly justifies your paper's being allowed to be used as an instrument for the denigration of my country." (*Guardian*, October 18.)

## Cameroun Republic

### Government Party's Policy

M. AHIDJO, President of the Republic, in his address to Third Congress of his party, the *Parti de L'Union Camerounaise*, said that national unity had not yet been achieved despite the amnesty; some people had shown themselves to be more interested in maintaining their own positions of personal power than in building up the Cameroun.

Amongst the problems facing his Government was the need to reform the system of chiefs which had been weakened by their colonial rulers. The chiefs were an important part of their society, but they must adapt themselves and come under the control of the State. Bribery and abuses, arising from customary payments, must cease. Youth must curb its impatience because it is not possible to build a good future by destroying the past.

The Party's aim must be to rule in the interests of the people as a whole. This was not appreciated by those who, when in power, indulged their personal ambitions. The misappropriation of public funds was becoming more and more frequent.

A scheme of economic development was needed to break into the vicious circle of stagnation and to eliminate its causes. A re-examination of economic shortcomings and potentialities had been undertaken. An industrial development plan had been designed to create a chain of small industries to meet local needs and those of neighbouring countries.

Three objectives should be sought: the improvement of the means of communications; improved marketing of produce and the creation of a network of co-operatives. Outside help was desired for humanitarian and economic reasons and to some extent it was a political necessity, though it must not be allowed to affect the country's sovereignty.

*Foreign Policy.* This had three main objectives: with France, the negotiation of full agreements; with Africa as a whole, the strengthening of cultural and economic relations; and in the international field, to seek assistance from richer countries so long as it could be got without outside interference in domestic affairs. It would be mainly in Europe which was close, geographically as well as culturally speaking, that this help could be found to meet immediate needs. This was why Cameroun had joined the Common Market.

The reunification problem must be settled in a brotherly fashion.

Amongst the final resolutions of the Congress were those favouring:

- (a) Decentralization designed to identify the local leaders with the policy on national issues.
- (b) Adaptation of tradition to modern needs.
- (c) Establishment of a national bank.
- (d) An extensive programme of rural development.

- (e) The opening of technical colleges and of a university.
- (f) The automatic adjustment of wages in accordance with the cost of living.
- (g) Increased wages and a programme to provide social security; and
- (h) A request for help from the United Nations so that economic progress could be made. (*Bulletin de L'Afrique Noire*, October 4.)

### U.P.C. Leader's Death

Dr. Felix Moumie died in a Geneva hospital on November 4. It is alleged that he was poisoned by "The Red Hand", an extremist right-wing organization in France. The Swiss police have refused to comment, but doctors confirmed that Dr. Moumie had apparently taken a large quantity of the poison known as thallium.

Dr. Moumie was the leader in exile of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* which was banned in 1955 for alleged Communist association. Dr. Moumie, who gave evidence before the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations on several occasions, maintained that the campaign of violence which his supporters were conducting in the Republic was for "real independence".

## Cameroons, British

### Finance and Re-Unification

THE Premier of the Southern Cameroons, Mr. John Foncha, with the leader of the Opposition, Dr. David Endeley, and an all-party delegation, came to London for talks with the Colonial Secretary. They asked for a £14 million loan to finance a five-year development plan for their country. They also discussed the political future.

Next spring a United Nations plebiscite will be held so that the inhabitants of both the Northern and the Southern Cameroons can decide whether they wish their country to be a part of the Federation of Nigeria or of the Republic of Cameroun.

Hella Pick, writing in the *Guardian* (November 11) said: "After the last war, the Cameroons came under the United Nations trusteeship. France became the administering authority for the largest part of the Kamerun. This territory, which bordered on the French colonies of Equatorial Africa, became known as the French Cameroons, and shared in the general constitutional advance of the French colonies. Last January it became the independent Republic of Cameroun—but not before the *Union des Populations du Cameroun*, a party which wanted reunification of the Cameroons and early independence and was banned in 1955 for alleged Communist association, had organized armed rebellion, which continues in parts of the territory to this day.

"A smaller part of the former German colony came under British administration. . . . The Southern Cameroons came to be administered from Lagos, and eventually became a quasi-region of the Nigerian federation with its own elected parliament and responsible government: hence Southern Cameroons can send its Premier and Opposition leader to London.

"When Nigeria became independent on October 1, the Southern Cameroons was separated from the Federation—and though the Nigerian Government continues to provide certain services on an agency basis, it is Britain which remains the overlord until the Southern Cameroons people vote on their future status.

"The Northern Cameroons came to be administered from Kaduna, capital of the Northern Region of Nigeria, and was in fact more or less integrated with the Northern Region. Actually the integration turned out to be rather less than had generally been assumed; since to universal surprise the Northern Cameroons, in a plebiscite last year, voted for separation from Northern Nigeria. As a consequence the administration is having to be unravelled, and since Nigeria's independence, theoretically at least, Northern Cameroons is now administered from the Colonial Office.

"In April, the Northern Cameroons is due for another plebiscite: like the Southern Cameroons, the Northern counterpart has not been given the choice of independence in isolation. It also must choose whether to become independent by joining either Nigeria or the Cameroun Republic, but in

the case of the South it has already been made clear that if the choice falls on Nigeria, then it can count on being a self-governing region. In the case of the North, the tacit assumption is that the Northern Cameroons cannot become a separate region but must return to the fold of the Northern Region.

"The political problems of the Cameroons are, of course, in the forefront: but underlying them are economic problems. Although the French did far more to develop their part of the Cameroons than the British, the whole area and especially the Northern parts are underdeveloped and poor. The Cameroun Republic continues to rely on French aid, even to balance the recurrent budget.

"The British Cameroons has even less chance of standing economically on its own feet—which explains why the United Nations has not offered the choice of independence on its own. But it is equally questionable whether a union of the British Cameroons and the Cameroun Republic could count on a rosy economic future.

"Nevertheless, reunification of the Cameroons is very much a live issue. It was first raised really loudly by the now banned and rebellious U.P.C. party, of which the late M. Felix Moumie was in recent years the exiled secretary-general. . . . But after the U.P.C. went into the wilderness, independence was negotiated by the present Cameroun President, M. Ahmadou Ahidjo, though he has also now taken up the reunification theme. In fact, M. Ahidjo has been holding talks with the British Southern Cameroons Premier, Mr. John Foncha, to work out a scheme.

"The two leaders have now worked out a project for gradually federating the two territories over a period of five years. . . . But, of course, there is no certainty that the vote will be for reunification. In the Southern Cameroons opinion is deeply divided. Although the Premier and his party, the Kameroon National Party, won their last election in 1959 on a reunification platform and Mr. Foncha has supported the idea ever since, the Opposition leader (and former Premier), Dr. Endeley, and his party, the Cameroons National People's Congress, are deeply committed to joining the Nigerian Federation.

"In fact, Dr. Endeley never wanted to leave it, and if his party had had their way, the Southern Cameroons would never have had to be separated from Nigeria on the Federation's independence day. However, now that separation has been effected, there are rumours that some Cameroun politicians are beginning to wonder whether it might not after all be possible to establish the territory as an independent country of its own. . . .

"As for the people of the Northern Cameroons, much pressure is being put on them both by Nigeria's Northern People's Congress Party and by the Action Group to vote for rejoining Nigeria. But there are differences in the pressure. Both parties hope for electoral support if Northern Cameroons rejoins Nigeria: N.P.C. wants the territory to reintegrate with the Northern Region: the Action Group wants a separate Northern Cameroons Region in the Nigerian Federation and one of its spokesmen is currently at the United Nations trying to persuade the United Nations that this should be laid down in advance of the United Nations plebiscite. It is doubtful whether he can gain many ears for his cause; still the Cameroons have a particular fascination for the United Nations—and especially for some of the independent African states, who consider the Cameroons a test case for all sorts of cherished principles and who have certainly never tired in the past of discussing Cameroons problems. Nevertheless, perhaps the present all-party Southern Cameroons delegation now in London will be even luckier—and not merely get Cameroons problems discussed but for once actually obtain money for development."

A United Nations team to administer the plebiscites arrived in Buea during October. Buea will be the site of official United Nations Headquarters for the plebiscites, but there will also be an office at Mubi, seat of the Northern Cameroons administration.

*West Africa* (November 12) pointed out that Mr. Foncha, who expects that the majority in the Southern Cameroons plebiscite will vote for union, wants sovereignty transferred after the plebiscite not to a federal body of the two territories, but to the Southern Cameroons alone: and some of his colleagues suggest the resulting period of independence might

last for five years, during which details of union with the Cameroun Republic would be worked out. His main reason for this is probably the continued disturbances in the Republic.

Discussing the Southern Cameroons delegations appeal for £14 million, *West Africa* continued: "The plan envisages capital expenditure of £9 million, all of which will have to come from outside the territory. But since 60 per cent of this is to be spent on roads, essential if the territory's undoubted economic potential is to be realized, it cannot be called unrealistic. Other important items include long overdue improvements in medical services (the British battalion is much better off for these than anybody else in the Southern Cameroons), a land and soil use survey, development of technical education, agricultural extension services, development of co-operatives, and forest management—all basic to economic development.

"To meet the estimated recurrent budget of £14 million over the next five years, the Southern Cameroons will want about £3 million from outside (it should be remembered that the United Kingdom is already committed to 'underwriting' the recurrent budget, and is doing so this year).

"Unfortunately this is not the whole story, as services at present provided by Nigeria on repayment are not included in the capital budget. Among them are customs, posts and telegraphs, geological surveys and other services all of which need heavy capital expenditure if the Southern Cameroons is to have the minimum equipment for independence, and for meeting the Cameroun Republic on equal terms.

"But there are also police and defence; and while Southern Cameroons leaders agree that their tiny police force needs expansion, they are also insisting that they need a battalion of their own before they can safely join with their big neighbour. Since the capital cost of a battalion and ancillary services may exceed £2 million and the recurrent cost may come to something like half the present Southern Cameroons budget, these costs are a formidable problem. We repeat our previous suggestion—that rapid expansion of the police, including a para-military wing, is the quickest, the most effective, and the most economical, means of meeting the just wishes of the Southern Cameroons Government: but Mr. Foncha and his colleagues understandably feel that only a full battalion can give them any standing in an area where military forces are constantly expanding.

"The British taxpayer, is however, committed, whether he knows it or not, to expenditure of many millions for the British battalion in the Southern Cameroons, which will certainly have to stay—if the territory becomes independent, if only temporarily—for perhaps another two years. The cost of Southern Cameroons' security has become a British liability, and it is not one which can be evaded.

"We have already urged the case for United Kingdom aid to the Southern Cameroons, even in face of a plebiscite likely to take the territory out of British control. Mr. Foncha's declaration that he wants sovereignty transferred to his territory strengthens the case: but behind it lies the need to ensure that whatever happens in the neighbouring republic, the Southern Cameroons is stable."

*The Economist* (November 12) commenting on the prospect of a united Cameroun said: "This might be a blow to Nigeria's prestige, although no good pan-Africanist could fail to welcome the building of such a bridge between former French and former British territories. The Northern Cameroons, which petulantly voted a year ago to postpone union with Nigeria, is expected to vote the other way in February, thus effectively quashing the dream of a Cameroon state comprising the whole of the German colony that was split up forty years ago. The British Government should react sympathetically to the request now being made for aid for the currently British Cameroons: a large-scale development programme will be needed if peace is to be kept in the area for long."

Richard Cox, writing in the *Daily Telegraph* (October 4) said: "Mr. Foncha, a former school teacher and a small and unassuming man, leads the party in favour of unification with the Cameroon Republic. He has much support because tribally, linguistically and culturally the two countries are closely related. There is no such community with Nigeria.

"On the other hand, the horror of arson and killing over the border, the widespread discontent there and the knowledge that French troops are

still supporting Mr. Ahidjo's Government has its effect on the peaceable Southern Cameroonians.

"Indeed, the electorate is more aware of this than of the staggering practical difficulties that would face Mr. Foncha if the vote went his way. These would range from which side of the road to drive on to the monetary complications of leaving the sterling area. There is distressingly little realization that British administrators, officials and troops will not stay under the eventual authority of a Cameroon Republic President. Nor is there much understanding of why they would not.

"The Opposition leader, Dr. Endeley, the former Prime Minister, is in favour of staying with Nigeria solely, he says, in order to remain within the rule of British democracy and the Commonwealth. He is confident, but is up against both the Cameroonians' loathing for the Ibos of Eastern Nigeria and the widespread belief that he himself is financed by Nigerian interests. Rejoining Nigeria is undeniably a far more practical proposition than reunification. In the past Nigeria has been relatively generous to the Southern Cameroons, but only in relation to the Southern Cameroons income. The country is still quite underdeveloped and its communications are appalling. What it needs is at least five years of determined economic and administrative development. It needs finance on a scale that neither Nigeria nor the Republic can be expected to provide, and that is mostly unlikely to be forthcoming from business investors.

"There is a growing discontent with the alternatives the plebiscite offers. A new party, the Cameroon United Party, is asking voters to tear their ballot papers in half and put one half in each box. It is not impossible that if many voted in this way, and the remainder were divided, the United Nations might be obliged to acknowledge continued responsibility."

## Gabon

### Congress of the Socialist Democratic Party

THE theme of the Congress was "The National Constitution". Its aim was to establish an economy based on African socialism and amongst the resolutions passed were those favouring the establishment of the nation of Gabon and the drive towards African unity, freedom of conscience for all citizens and freedom from intimidation and the fight against corruption. Nationalization of the means of overseas trade was favoured and the creation of agricultural producer and marketing co-operatives to provide for better organization of the means of production. There should be further education for a great mass of the peasants and workers in the ways of socialism. There should be compulsory education from the age of 6-16 years and an increased health programme. A school of medicine should be established within the territory. Trade unionism should be encouraged and a labour exchange established. (*Afrique Nouvelle*, October 5.)

## Ghana

### Take-over Denial

A REPORT that foreign firms in Ghana were to be taken over by the Government was categorically denied by President Nkrumah in a broadcast from Accra. "This publication, I must say with all the emphasis at my command," he said, "is pernicious, wicked and deliberately calculated to damage the reputation and good faith which Ghana has built up. I know that our friends both here and abroad will not countenance such a publication or give it even the slightest credence."

The President said the situation had arisen while he was away in New York. A number of statements appeared to have been made by unauthorized persons and organizations regarding Ghana's economic policy. These statements culminated in a "malicious newspaper article", appearing in the *News Chronicle* (October 7). An article written by one Mr. Norman Clark, who fled the country before the publication, alleged that "Ghana will decide to nationalize all foreign business firms", and that the take-over will commence on May 1 and be completed in three years.



After denying the report, Dr. Nkrumah said he had stated on many occasions that the Government's policy was aimed at evolving a socialist pattern of society; no secret had been made of this. He had also stated that there were different paths to socialism, that each country had to find its own way and that socialism could differ in form from one country to another. Ghana intended to evolve its own socialist pattern of society adapted to its own particular needs.

"I now wish to reaffirm and to clarify beyond any doubt, the Government's economic policy," said the President. "In my message to the National Assembly of September 2, I defined the respective roles of the capital which is available within Ghana, and of capital which comes from abroad. I stated that the economic structure is divided into four different sectors.

"First, the state-owned sector; second, the joint state-private enterprise sector; third, the co-operative sector; and fourth, the purely private sector. I also stated that the Government intends to place far greater emphasis on the development of Ghanaian co-operatives rather than encourage Ghanaians to start private business enterprises."

Dr. Nkrumah continued: "It is an accepted fact that there is not sufficient capital in the world to provide for the needs of all the developing countries which need it. This capital is therefore highly selective and tends to go where it feels it is welcome. I wish to leave no doubt in anybody's mind that the Ghana Government accepts these facts, needs capital investment from all sources and welcomes it. It has been brought to my notice that overseas investors have been in some doubt as to their welcome, due to views expressed on exploitation.

"I now wish to direct the following remarks more particularly to my fellow countrymen. The Government receives by way of Company Tax eight shillings in every pound of profits made by companies both Ghanaian and overseas established in Ghana. This is equivalent to a 40 per cent non-voting shareholding for which the Government invests no capital.

"Overseas capital, invested in companies in Ghana, provides buildings, plant and machinery which remain permanently in Ghana and become immediate assets of Ghana. In most cases, a large proportion of the turnover of an industrial company remains in Ghana in the forms of wages and salaries to employees.

"These wages and salaries in turn attract taxation and also purchasing power which encourages further enterprises. In good companies, of which there are many, a share of the profits is ploughed back into the company for development of its enterprises. This is, in fact, further investment.

"If there are fears of permanent foreign domination in the commercial and industrial fields of our economy, these fears should be immediately and permanently abandoned. The Government has already taken adequate measures by limiting the tenure of leases and concessions and by clearing foreign elements from the ownership of land. It must be borne in mind, however, that the duration of leases and concessions must be balanced against the encouragement of overseas capital in such a way as to guarantee a responsible return for the investment.

"The Government recognises and accepts the fact that overseas firms investing in Ghana have a duty to their shareholders, many of them small shareholders, to protect their investments and provide a return in the form of dividends to them. The Government is willing to take measures to assure each shareholder of protection and will welcome suggestions and advice on this matter from overseas companies through the Chamber of Commerce." (*Ghana Today*, October 12.)

The Ghana Government has declared Mr. Norman Clark, of the *News Chronicle* a prohibited immigrant. Mr. Clark was author of a report in the *News Chronicle* which alleged that Ghana was to nationalize foreign firms. (*Guardian*, October 12.)

The *Daily Telegraph* (October 11) commented: "Dr. Nkrumah's categorical denial of any intention to nationalize foreign firms in Ghana might seem to leave nothing more to be said. He concluded, however, with a proposal that ought to be taken up. Recognizing the duty of firms to protect their shareholders against the political risks of overseas investment, Dr. Nkrumah invited them to suggest means by which his Government could give satisfactory assurances. This is a question which has for some time exercised international lawyers and a draft convention is in exist-

ence. . . . The essential point is to give private firms or individuals the same sort of recourse, in case of dispute, as governments sometimes have to the International Court. This is the more necessary because the investor cannot depend on his government to fight effectively on his behalf, if high policy conflicts with private justice. There can be no protection against nationalization: that is a government's right. The safeguard which a firm ought to be able to give its shareholders before investing their money in an overseas enterprise is an assurance of equitable compensation should the concern be nationalized."

The Ghana Government and the Zim Navigation Company of Israel have signed an agreement under which Ghana bought the 40 per cent share held by Israel in the Ghana national shipping company, the Black Star Line. The line now becomes exclusively Ghanaian. Under a second agreement, however, Zim will remain management agents for Black Star for seven years. (*The Times*, October 20.)

## Visit to the North

Dr. Nkrumah's first visit to the Northern Region as President was marked by a spectacular durbar in Tamale attended by chiefs and elders from all parts of the area. In a welcome address, the Nayeri Abudulai Sheriga told the President: "We urge you to go ahead with the struggle to wipe out colonialism, disease, ignorance and poverty from our dear Africa. Do not at any moment turn back to see where we are; for we are always behind you, and with you."

The Regional Commissioner, Mr. E. A. Mahama, said that although the Second Development Plan was only a year and a half old, they were already beginning to see the fruition of a number of projects in agriculture, education and health services. He spoke in particular of the expansion in agricultural extension services and land-planning, the establishment of a veterinary school, new secondary schools and the building of health centres.

The Nayeri, who spoke on behalf of the chiefs of the region, said: "The Northern Region is united for ever under you and the Convention People's Party. Ghana, and indeed Africa, is fortunate to have you at this time to play a leading role in our affairs. Apart from accelerating the collapse of colonialism on the continent of Africa, the action you took in the Congo crisis has saved that country from falling back on the trap of colonialism and perhaps may save mankind from the disaster of a nuclear war."

After speaking of development that had taken place in the North over the past ten years, the Nayeri said: "In the same way as the Volta Region is properly linked to the rest of the country by the Adomi bridge, so do we pray that the North and Upper Regions be linked properly with the rest of the country by concrete bridges at Bamboi, Mono and Yapei."

Dr. Nkrumah in his reply said chieftaincy still had a role to play in the national life of their new Republic. That was why, in his declaration as first President of the Republic of Ghana, he had stated that "chieftaincy under our new constitution is guaranteed and preserved". The greatest need of the Region was for good drinking water. The Government was doing what it could to assist in this. Whenever funds were given for such development, all councillors should ensure that they were used properly and in the best interest of the people.

"Never think that the Government has got an inexhaustible source of money which can be tapped by cheating, laziness and falsification of accounts," said the President. "It is not so, has never been so and will never be so. It is the taxes, direct and indirect, which are collected from the people that go to form Government revenue." (*Ghana Today*, November 9.)

## Co-operation in Agriculture

In the estimates which Mr. K. Gbedemah presented to Ghana's Parliament for 1960-61, the biggest single increase is £4 million, for the Ministry of Agriculture, whose vote for the first time exceeds £10 million—just under one-sixth of the total.

The emphasis is now on expansion and improvement of agriculture; and among the most important of the instruments the government is using is the Ghana Farmers' Council. The council, which was set up in

1953 and now has 200,000 members and a fine new headquarters in Accra, has started many schemes and if its agreed policies can succeed, Ghana may be on the verge of an agricultural revolution.

Two kinds of co-operative farming are envisaged. In one, farmers will own a plot collectively, working together and sharing the proceeds. In the other they will own plots individually but the plots will adjoin each other so that mechanized equipment can be used on them. . . .

A third form of co-operative has been started near Damongo in the North, where large farming settlements are being set up. They are financed by the Government and organized by the Farmers' Council. Each settlement consists of one hundred families and is growing crops of soya beans, groundnuts, cotton and maize in rotation. This is a multi-purpose co-operative arrangement, which is being extended to cover not only production but also processing and marketing of crops, purchasing supplies sold in the settlement, and accumulating funds for further capital expansion. . . .

It is hoped that twenty large-scale co-operative farms will eventually be established and Mr. Botsio recently announced that qualified overseas staff are now being approached to set up and run the farms in their first few years. "Selection of areas", the Minister went on, "for this type of farming will depend not only on the suitability of soils but also on the 'activity and keenness of the farmers'."

Other forms of co-operative innovations proposed include consumers' co-operative stores, which sell goods to farmers, and an expansion of the Farmers' Mutual Co-operative Insurance Scheme. Insurance used only to cover life, child endowment and general business risks, but it is now being extended to cover medical expenses. In addition, an Industrial Co-operative has been formed to build factories for canning, for making tomato purée, extracting oil, milling rice and corn, and so on. Shares in the factories can be bought too, though basically they will be financed by the Industrial and Credit Bank.

In creating such a co-operative system it seems logical to take over produce marketing activities. This is being done and is possibly the most important aspect of the whole movement. It is the council's belief that organized marketing coupled with a stabilized price is the surest stimulus to production of crops on a commercial basis. During 1959 the number of marketing co-operatives increased from 300 to 540. Now the farmers' co-operatives are moving on to such commodities as eggs, meat and vegetables for local consumption. One reason for this extension has been the great success of the Cocoa Marketing Board, which the council hopes will soon be reconstructed to deal with all agricultural exports. (*West Africa*, October 22.)

### Chamber of Commerce's Responsibilities

Mr. S. G. Apenteng, president of the Ghana Chamber of Commerce, expressed the view that it should be compulsory for all businessmen to be registered members of the Chamber.

He said it would enable the Chamber of Commerce to mobilize effectively all the trading communities in the country, and to fit them into socialist plans of the Government. "This would strengthen the heads of the Chamber to exercise a keen vigil on the shady activities of certain trades and merchants here with a view to checking them," he said.

Mr. Apenteng, who was addressing the inaugural meeting of the Ghana Chamber of Commerce, said that in order that the Chamber qualifies for the performance of its grave current responsibilities of introducing a new system of trade in Ghana it was necessary to extend the Chamber's membership to include not only private business circles but also such categories of economic institutions as the Government or state-owned enterprises and all co-operative enterprises throughout the country. (*Ghanaian Times*, October 10.)

### Institute of Tropical Medicine

Ghana is to have an Institute of Tropical Medicine and Endemic Diseases. The Institute will give medical graduates trained abroad a special course of training in the endemic diseases with which they will have to deal in Ghana. In combination with this teaching work there will also be set up research into the local aspects of the important tropical diseases which occur in Ghana.

Negotiations have been in progress for some months between the National Research Council and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine in regard to a full liaison between these two bodies in connexion with the creation of such an institute. The scheme has been developed at the instigation of Dr. Nkrumah in consultation with Professor B. G. Macgregair, Dean of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, who will have a direct association with the teaching and research work to be undertaken by the Institute. (*Ghana Today*, October 26.)

## Ivory Coast

### New Draft Constitution

UNDER the new draft Constitution, the President of the Ivory Coast will hold complete executive power and will be responsible only to the electorate. He will have powers to appoint or dismiss ministers with complete freedom, have the liberty to appeal to the nation by referendum, to negotiate and ratify international agreements, and take full powers in emergencies after consultation with the Assembly President. Ministers will not be members of the Assembly but could appear before the commissions set up by the Assembly to draft laws.

The first President—to be elected for five years—will almost certainly be Mr. Felix Houphouët-Boigny the present Premier. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, October 20.)

M. Yocé, presenting the new Constitution to the Assembly, said the new Government would be rather like a brains trust at the service of the President.

M. Houphouët-Boigny said in the course of an interview that union between Ivory Coast and Dahomey was becoming more and more desirable but it must be a union which accepted the identity of each. "We are all African nationalists, then we respect the nationalisms of others. After union we shall advance eventually perhaps towards full African unity. But reality today does not permit us to think in terms of such full unity."

## Guinea

### The International Scene

M. SEKOU TOURE, the Prime Minister, speaking at the United Nations said: "Africa has ceased to be a source of wealth to those who dominated her political and economic life. Africa wishes to control itself and to reject those who used the threat of hypothetical dangers of foreign domination to hide their own domination of certain African states."

M. Sekou Toure then attacked the attitude of superiority towards Africans adopted by those "who believe colonial peoples could not live without their charity".

Addressing the new African states, M. Sekou Toure, said that the imperialists want to continue to dominate them, but African leaders could not accept the role of puppets which was offered them at the United Nations. Those who feared that the African nations would fall under the influence of one or other of the two power blocs were wasting their time. Africa had ceased to be a possession and was now standing on her own. (*Agence France Presse*, October 11.)

### The Budget

The national budget was drawn up by the ruling Democratic Party in the conference of party executives held in secret session. President Toure explained that the "revolutionary spirit" had enabled the country to meet and overcome the crisis caused by the secession from the Community. Indeed, output had been trebled since that date. He added that the 1960 budget, amounting to 8,000 million Guinean francs, had been entirely carried out despite additional expenditure. No figures were available for the 1961 budget, 34 per cent of which will go to pay wages and "sovereignty costs", 34 per cent social welfare expenditure and 15 per cent will be devoted to "national economy". (*West Africa*, November 5.)

# Guinea, Portuguese

## Liberation Movement

THE *Kenya Weekly News* (August 19) reported that a movement for the liberation of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (off the west coast of Africa) has made its appearance. An organization calling itself the African Independence Party (A.I.P.) has written to the Portuguese Premier threatening bloodshed if independence is not granted within six months. It offers to meet Portuguese envoys to discuss "a free association between our two independent countries".

Abdel Djassi, secretary-general of the A.I.P., in an interview in Conakry, claimed that "U.S. imperialism is now taking the place of Portuguese colonialism in lording it over the people of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands". Last March, when Abdel Djassi visited London he claimed to be leading the "liberation movement" in Angola, a similar organization, with headquarters in Conakry.

# Mali Republic

## Future of Soudan

SOUDAN has declared that it will henceforth be called the Republic of Mali; that the Federation of Mali has ceased to exist; and that all its agreements and political links with France have ceased to be valid. *The Times* (September 23) described this as a "drastic" but "very necessary" step towards restoring the rule of logic in what used to be French West Africa. While Senegal claimed that it was independent, and the Soudanese Government claimed that both Soudan and Senegal still formed the Federation of Mali, no progress was possible. The United Nations was forced to pass over Mali's request for admission until the situation could be made clearer.

The first Congress of the Soudanese Union Party, the Government Party, reaffirmed its belief in the Republic and declared its support for African unity.

The Congress called for formation of an army which it said should be hastened by the recall of all nationals serving with foreign troops, particularly those in Algeria and the Cameroun Republic. All military bases ceded to France should be evacuated in accordance with the Franco-Mali agreements. Hostilities in Algeria should be brought to an end and the Algerians granted the right of self-determination. It condemned the carrying out of nuclear tests in the Sahara.

The people of Mali were called on to show their patriotism and work for the success of the Government's plan for economic development with a socialist structure.

On economic questions the Congress declared that a new economic structure was required which would transform and develop trade within a socialist framework based on the realities in Africa. Road, rail, river and air transport must be developed to meet the country's needs. Agriculture must be improved. Industrial development must take place and mineral research be extended. Effective state control of economic development was needed and there should be an office of Overseas Trade. Co-operatives should also be more widely established.

The Congress advocated the creation of an African Common Market and an African Monetary Zone to demonstrate that the people of Africa belonged together. It called on the Government to enter into economic and trade relations with all peoples, without exception. (*Bulletin d'Afrique Noire*, October 11.)

On September 29, the United Nations General Assembly admitted the Republic as a member.

# Mauritania

## Relations with Morocco

M. MOKTAR OULD DADDAH, Prime Minister of Mauritania, leads his country to independence on November 28 and at the same time faces a

claim that his country should become part of the Moroccan kingdom.

*The Times* (October 15) commented: "Mauritania is twice the size of France but has only rather more than half a million inhabitants. It lies between Muslim and Black Africa, and the great majority of Mauritania are Muslims. In the past, when African frontiers were a matter of power and influence, rather than lines drawn on the map, Mauritania was undoubtedly at times under Moroccan control. It has, on the other hand, in this century evolved, like the rest of French West Africa, towards independence. Although some Mauritania favour union with Morocco, and have already made their submission to the King, others do not wish to be robbed of the fruits of freedom. "Why quit French domination to subject ourselves to Morocco?" asks the Prime Minister.

"There would be a quarrel over Mauritania if it was only an unviable tract of desert. But now it has become something more. In the hills round Fort Gouraud, near the Spanish enclave of Rio de Oro—also claimed by Morocco—are rich deposits of iron ore, for the exploitation of which the International Bank has supplied a loan. Copper is also beginning to be worked. Mauritania, in fact, is involved in the complex problem of how the mineral wealth of the Sahara should be developed."

In a memorandum Morocco's permanent representative at the United Nations said his country's rights to Mauritania were based on geographic, historic, ethnic and legal facts, as well as on the principles of the United Nations Charter. From the early history of the régime until French occupation, the Chenguit area (called Mauritania by the French) which extends from the south of present Morocco to the borders of the Soudan and of the Senegal, has always been an integral part of the Moroccan kingdom. He maintained that the artificial division of the national territory has never affected the profound aspirations of the populations and their determination to preserve the unity of the country. On many occasions the populations of Mauritania have expressed their attachment and loyalty to His Majesty the King of Morocco and his Government, and their determination to return to the Moroccan Community.

The Moroccan Government in a supplementary note to the United Nations said: "It is the view of the Moroccan Government that the question is essentially of a territorial nature. Mauritania is, and always has been, in spite of the status accorded her by France, an integral part of the Moroccan national territory."

It recalled that: On August 28, 1956, in a note addressed to the French Government, the Government of His Majesty the King "expressed reservations against integration, in the common organization of the Saharan regions, of its territory under the name of Saharian Zones of the French Republic

"On November 11, 1958, it made a strong protest against the proclamation of the so-called 'Islamic Republic of Mauritania'.

"On December 15, 1959, it claimed the return of the entire national territory such as it was internationally recognized prior to the establishment of a protectorate over Morocco.

"In a memorandum addressed to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Moroccan Government strongly protested against the loan given by the bank to M.I.F.E.R.M.A. It reiterated the rights of Morocco over Mauritania and disregarded the right of France to pledge the future of that territory. The Government of His Majesty is conscious of its rights in presenting these facts to the United Nations in view of the intention of the French Government to effect a *fait accompli* in recognizing the independence of Mauritania."

Philippe Herremann writing in *Le Monde* (October 31) said that Maghreb solidarity, though firm on the Algerian question, was less so on the Mauritania issue. The Crown Prince of Morocco, after visiting London, went to Tunis to press his case with President Bourguiba. He was not very successful as the President pointed out that having recognized all the new African States so far he could scarcely refuse recognition to Mauritania which had achieved its freedom in the same manner. The Crown Prince therefore returned to Rabat knowing that his country could not count on Tunisian support at the United Nations. The most he could hope for was Tunisia's abstention.

"Tunisia's refusal of support emphasizes Morocco's isolation in this matter. Its claims on Mauritania have already met with opposition from



all, or nearly all, Black Africa. The Arab League apparently backed them at the Chtaura conference last summer. So it seems that certain Arab states, such as Libya, will be in disagreement with other League members."

M. Moktar Ould Daddah has banned the Opposition party "Nahda el Ouattania" because he said it had repeatedly called for illegal action. The secretary-general of "Nahda", M. Mohammed El Hanchi, has protested to the United Nations, calling upon the Assembly to refuse admission to Mauritania because the present Government does not observe the fundamental rights embodied in the Charter. (*Afrique Nouvelle*, October 19 and 26.)

# Nigeria

## Independence

AFTER nearly a hundred years of British rule, Nigeria became independent on October 1.

The Union Jack was hauled down from a specially-built flagpole on the racecourse and the new green-and-white Nigerian national flag was run up in its place. The ceremony was the climax of a spectacular military tattoo. Fireworks then cascaded into darkness and thousands of Nigerians throughout the country celebrated all night. Messages of congratulations from all over the world included a telegram from the South African Prime Minister.

In a message to the Prime Minister of the Nigerian Federation, Mr. Macmillan said: "On this historic day the Federation of Nigeria achieves her independence and we are glad to rejoice with her. It marks the fulfilment of what our Governments have worked for together over the past years and we wish you well in your future. It is a source of pride to us in the United Kingdom to be able, by your own decision, to welcome your great and growing country as a member of the Commonwealth, and I look forward with confidence to the continuance of the happy relations which exist between us."

Princess Alexandra opened the new Nigerian Parliament on October 4. Dr. Azikiwe read letters patent empowering Princess Alexandra to represent the Queen and open Parliament on her behalf. Speaking from the throne the Princess outlined the Government policy, and expressed the hope on behalf of the Queen that Nigeria would grow to great influence in the comity of nations and that such influence would be employed in support of righteous causes.

The Princess made a three-week tour of Nigeria in the course of which she laid the foundation stone of the auditorium at the new University of Nigeria at Nsukka, forty-five miles from the eastern Nigerian capital of Enugu.

Donald G. Burns writing in the *Guardian* (October 8) said: "The creation of a new university is an important occasion at any time, but the opening of the University of Nigeria at this moment is obviously an event of quite special significance, for the successful launching of the new institution has come to be looked upon by many Nigerians, and particularly those living in the Eastern Region, as a symbol of the political independence they have just achieved. . . . It seems incredible that the large buildings needed for hostels and teaching should have been erected and completed for occupation now, when foundations were being dug in March; and that the many other services—furnished bungalows for staff, roads, water and electricity could be supplied so rapidly. . . .

"Some 270 students will begin courses in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Nigeria on October 12. In future planning the new university hopes to lay special emphasis on those disciplines which are likely to have the greatest relevance in a country whose economy is predominantly agricultural, although it is now seeking opportunities of industrial development and faculties will be established in agriculture, science, and engineering.

"A most encouraging feature at this stage in the development of the project has been the embarrassingly large number of inquiries received from prospective students. Nearly 1,500 candidates reached the minimum requirements for entrance (two or three passes at advanced level) although

only some 270 of these could be offered places. Of these, some thirty places were offered to women students."

## At the United Nations

Speaking at the United Nations on the occasion of Nigeria's admission, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa said: "First it is the desire of Nigeria to remain on friendly terms with all nations and to participate actively in the work of the United Nations.

"Secondly, Nigeria, a large and populous country of over thirty-five millions, has absolutely no territorial or expansionist intentions.

"Thirdly, we shall not forget our old friends and we are proud to have been accepted as a member of the Commonwealth, but nevertheless we do not intend to align ourselves as a matter of routine with any of the power blocs. We are committed to uphold the principles upon which the United Nations is founded.

"Fourthly, Nigeria hopes to work with other African states for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence.

"The recent tragic events in the Congo Republic must be uppermost in all our minds. I frankly admit that there are many features of this seemingly intractable problem which remain obscure to me. I am in some doubt as to the exact manner in which the constitution granting independence to that country was drawn up by the colonial power which formerly administered the territory. I do not know how widely the provisions of the new constitution were known in the country at large, or whether there is any pattern of administration going up from the village to the provincial and national level. . . .

"Nevertheless, with the information which is available to us, we in Nigeria feel that Africa must not be allowed to become a battleground in the ideological struggle: for this reason the Congo situation must be a matter to be dealt with primarily by African states at the political level. It will be necessary to start at the bottom by seeing that local and provincial authorities are established while maintaining the essential unity of the country.

"We warmly applauded the immediate response of the United Nations to the Congolese disaster."

The Prime Minister suggested the appointment of a fact-finding commission to look into the circumstances which caused the present crisis, and emphasized that none of the great powers should be represented on the commission, because, however honest their intentions, it would be inevitable that they would be regarded as having a particular interest in the problem. He continued: "The first essential is to find a government capable of governing and for this it will probably be necessary to hold new elections. When these have been held, there will be some properly authorized leaders with whom the United Nations can co-operate. I think it important that the United Nations should work only with those whom I have termed the authorized leaders. They may seem to some of us to be far from perfect and to some even objectionable, but if they are duly chosen by a majority then they must be supported. There can be no question of the United Nations taking on the role of an administering power or of the Congo Republic being regarded as a United Nations trusteeship territory."

Speaking on the general problems of Africa, Sir Abubakar said: "Political independence is totally inadequate if it is not accompanied by stability and economic security, and if there is not genuine personal liberty with freedom to express one's views and to profess whatever faith one desires. Many of the new African States are indeed potentially rich and could contribute to improving the world, but for the fact that they lack the technical knowledge and the financial capital necessary to develop their resources.

"It is especially in this field that I commend the many schemes which the United Nations has sponsored for assisting the underdeveloped countries: indeed I wish that there were many more of them. I would not necessarily limit technical assistance to the United Nations, but I do seriously suggest that it is in the best interests of world peace for assistance from elsewhere to be given only to those countries which, although still underdeveloped, are politically stable and have a properly constituted government which is capable of understanding the risks of accepting aid from another country."

The Prime Minister said he did not believe political union in Africa practicable in the immediate future. "I do not rule out the possibility of eventual union, but for the present it is unrealistic to expect countries to give up to the sovereignty which they have so recently acquired."

Concluding the Prime Minister said: "Please do not think that we are not interested in the problems of the rest of the world: we are intensely interested in them and hope to be allowed to assist in finding solutions to them through this organization, but being human we are naturally concerned first with what affects our immediate neighbourhood."

"One great advantage which we new nations have is that the accession to independence makes a clean cut with our past, and presents us with the opportunity to enter the field of international relations untrammelled by prior commitments. It is probably the one occasion in the life of a nation when it is possible to choose policies for their inherent qualities of goodness." (*News from Nigeria*, October 12.)

### New Cabinet

The new Federal Cabinet includes: Alhaji Sir Abubakar, Prime Minister, Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; Alhaji Muhammadu Ribadu, Defence; Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Finance; Mr. R. A. Njoku, Transport and Aviation; Alhaji Muhammadu Inuwa Wada, Works and Surveys; Mr. J. M. Johnson, Labour; Mallam Zanna Bukar Dipcharima, Commerce and Industry; Mr. Aja Nwachuku, Education; Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Pensions; Alhaji Usman Sarki, Internal Affairs; Mallam Maitama Sule, Mines and Power; Mr. T. O. S. Benson, Information; Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, Health; Mr. Olu Akinfosile, Communications; Mallam Musa Yar'Adua, Lagos Affairs; Mr. Jaja Wachuku, Economic Development; Dr. T. O. Elias, Attorney-General and Minister of Justice.

### Defence Agreement Reached

The proposed defence agreement between the United Kingdom and Nigeria which was discussed in London in May has been published as a White Paper. The Government of the Federation of Nigeria has undertaken to seek its endorsement by the Nigerian Federal Parliament.

By Article 1 the two Governments would pledge to give the other assistance as may be necessary for mutual defence and to consult together on the measures to be taken jointly or separately to ensure the fullest co-operation. If requested, the United Kingdom Government would provide personnel to assist in the staffing, administration and training of the armed forces of the Federation, and would give facilities in Britain for the training of those forces.

In particular, places would be provided for officers, cadets and other ranks at United Kingdom training establishments including the Royal Military College, the Royal Naval College, the Mons Officer Cadet School and the Staff College at Camberley. If, at some future date, the Federation creates an air force it will be offered training facilities on a similar basis.

On the supply of arms, the agreement states: "The United Kingdom Government will . . . make every effort to ensure for the armed forces of the Federation an adequate supply of such modern weapons (including new types of weapons which may be developed) as may be considered necessary and suitable for the armed forces of the Federation." They would also consider making available any warships which may be required by the Royal Nigerian Navy.

On request by the United Kingdom Government, the Nigerian Government would make available facilities at Kano and Lagos airfields for tropical trials for aircraft, and Nigeria would have access to the general results of the trials. The United Kingdom Government would pay landing fees for the use of the civil airfields in the Federation by military aircraft at the rate applying to civil aircraft. (*The Times*, November 15.)

### Political Parties

The Action Group of which Chief Obafemi Awolowo is Federal President has issued its manifesto. Entitled "Democratic Socialism", it aims at building a society founded on the three principles of national greatness, the well-being of the individual, and international brotherhood.

The manifesto urges: "We must get rid of the dead-weight of feudalism, aristocracy and privilege. We must overcome the wastefulness and distraction

of tribalism and social injustice. We must remove the crippling effect of a backward and over-dependent economy. This is the time to fight for ideals. We take our stand by the side of the individual and his right to live in a free society where there exist not only an absence of unlawful restraints but also opportunities for the liberation and enlargement of the human personality."

On the task ahead, the Action Group says its aims in an independent Nigeria will be to further develop and strengthen a sense of common nationality; to evolve a sound national economy; to raise the prestige of our country in the comity of nations; and to cater for the well-being of the individual as the unit of our society.

Chief Awolowo said the Action Group was setting up a standing economic planning commission of its own to give the Party five-year programmes to be urged on the country from time to time.

On the West African Union the Action Group calls for schemes of collaboration in matters economic, cultural and scientific. It called for a customs union, a single monetary system, jointly subsidized technical colleges, research organizations and universities; link-up of telecommunications and railway systems and standardization of railway gauges, exchange of teachers and students, sponsored tours of artists and sportsmen, establishment of passport free zones, etc.

For the rest of Africa, Chief Awolowo said the immediate goal should be the maintenance of close and friendly relations with them at home and co-operation with them at the United Nations. Chief Awolowo said that the Action Group was neither pro-West nor pro-East. (*Nigerian Daily Express*, September 24.)

At a press conference on October 9, the Premier of Eastern Nigeria claimed that any Regional Government which tried to secede from the Federation would be dismissed by the Federal Government and a caretaker Government set up in its place. He said provision was made for this in the new constitution. The N.C.N.C. favours the creation of more states with provincial status "leading eventually to unitary administration".

The *Nigerian Daily Express* (September 27) said: "The N.C.N.C. pledged itself to defending freedom and continuing to work for a 'Socialist Commonwealth of Nigeria'."

The publicity secretary of the Eastern Working Committee of the N.C.N.C. issued publication on October 18 about nationalization in Eastern Nigeria. The following day Dr. Okpara denied that the Party was planning nationalization of any industry, and said that the publication had been issued without authority. On October 21 the pamphlet was banned by the Eastern Working Committee, whose chairman strongly repudiated it. The Western Nigeria Minister of Finance dissociated his Government from any threats of nationalization and said it "welcomes foreign entrepreneurs as true partners in establishing a wide range of new industrial and agricultural projects in Western Nigeria".

The Zikist National Vanguard issued a statement to the Federal Government embodying numerous demands. Some of these were to appoint a high-powered economic commission to investigate the economic possibilities of an independent Nigeria, and the impact of foreign economic combines on our economy; consider the advisability of changing Nigeria into a republic; control the price of imported goods; remove Mr. P. H. G. Stallard forthwith from his position as secretary to the Prime Minister and secretary to the Cabinet.

### Oil and Nigeria

Ronald Fowler writing of the growing importance of Nigeria's embryo oil industry said: "Oil, the lifeblood of any country these days, will undoubtedly continue to fill a major role in Nigeria's future and the Government has not been slow to see this. As evidence, it has set up a development board and also spent £250,000 on developing prospects in the Niger delta area. The country can now be regarded as an established oil producer, and production is expected to increase yearly. . . ."

"The Shell B.P. Development Co. of Nigeria Ltd. said in March that it was hoping output might reach 10 million tons a year by 1970. That would make Nigeria one of the Commonwealth's major oil producers. In fact, second only to Canada. Present shipments of 16,500 barrels a day are expected to be doubled by the end of the year. . . ."

Searching for oil is naturally a costly business, and costs to date are in the region of £60 million—£18 million in 1959 alone.

"The country's potential is now evident—a well at Ughelli in the Western Region has proved successful while four producing areas have been established in the Eastern Region's Niger Delta area, at Bomu, Ebubu, Oloibiri and Afam. These fields are linked by pipeline with Port Harcourt and this line is to be extended farther south to the Bonny Island terminal. With production continually increasing, thoughts naturally turn to refining and a Shell B.P. study group is already examining this possibility.

"As yet, oil is expensive to produce there, but on the other hand, Nigeria has definite advantages. One, and probably the most important of all, is that tax arrangements are reasonably stable and fair. It is laid down that profits shall be divided on a fifty-fifty basis. Royalties of 12½ per cent are being paid this year and this should yield over £750,000. Of this, 50 per cent will go to the region in which the oil was produced; the Federal Government will take 20 per cent and the remainder will be divided between the three regions and the South Cameroons.

"An indication of the industrial trends of the country can be gained from the fact that between 1947 and 1958 exports grew from £44,314,000 to £135,690,000 and imports rose even more sharply—from £32,636,000 to £167,074,000. Keeping pace with the expanding economy is the earning per head of population. This is still low compared with European standards, but it too is rising sharply.

A shortage of labour and skill is said to be a drawback to the industrialist looking to Nigeria as a possible country in which to expand, but this problem can and is being tackled, and there seems to be no reason whatever for despondency. The manpower available for industry is estimated at about 9½ million, of whom about two-thirds are in unskilled and agricultural labour. This leaves a healthy balance for industry. Generally speaking, the skill available is not well trained, but this, too, can be rectified and in this field, oil again leads the way. Shell B.P. have embarked upon an ambitious training programme and good results are being obtained." (*Commonwealth Calling*,<sup>1</sup> October.)

### Riots in the North

Parts of Princess Alexandra's tour of the Northern Region were cancelled because of widespread rioting in the Tiv division of the Benue province. The disturbances were said to be purely local and in no way related to Nigeria's independence celebrations.

*West Africa* (October 15) said that the figures of arrests and convictions give some idea of the extent of the disturbances. Up to October 6 there were almost 4,800 arrests and 2,830 convictions. . . . At the same date the disturbances had caused sixteen deaths and four resulting from police action—and two more deaths have since been reported.

The Tiv, who number almost a million, are the backbone of the movement supporting creation of a "Middle Belt State" out of the Northern Region. In recent elections they have voted overwhelmingly for the United Middle Belt Congress; but the head chief—the Tor Tiv—clan heads, council members and the Native Authority officials have supported the Northern People's Congress, the Government Party in Northern Nigeria.

In last December's Federal elections, during which, no doubt, exaggerated claims were made about who would win nationally and what would happen if they did, the U.M.B.C. won handsomely in all Tiv seats: but this did not affect the position of the N.P.C. men in authority. Whether spontaneously, or as the result of propaganda, Tiv people, cheated of their promised "Middle Belt State", began to refuse to accept authority of the Native Authority and its officials and courts. There was trouble last March, but present disturbances may have been due to the approach of independence.

U.M.B.C. leaders have refused to accept responsibility for the violence and have done something to restrain it.

Finally, the Northern Regional Government in the middle of September, dissolved the Native Authority on the good ground that it had lost the people's confidence and had failed to keep law and order. An experienced British Senior District Officer has been brought to take the place of the Native Authority, whose hexagonal council chamber, just completed,

<sup>1</sup>Published by Commonwealth Union of Trade.

stands symbolically empty in Gboko. With his British and Nigerian assistants, he is trying to make things work again. . . .

In the long run, nevertheless, only a political solution will work, however well the administrative officers do their job. U.M.B.C. leaders are asking for removal of the Tor Tiv, who in spite of dissolution of the Native Authority remains a chief, and his clan heads. They also want a "neutral" commission of inquiry.

### Ashby Commission

The terms of reference of the Ashby Commission referred only to post secondary and higher education but their report has also pointed to the inadequacies of the present primary and secondary education in the Federation. In order to meet Nigeria's need for about 80,000 trained men and women by 1970, the Commission say that secondary education must be almost trebled. It points out that while in the east and west primary education is universal, in the north less than a tenth of the children complete senior primary school.

The Commissioners put forward proposals which are described as "massive, expensive and unconventional" to match the aspirations of Nigeria over the first twenty years of independence, and they propose an international aid scheme entitled "Loan and educational aid programme" (L.E.A.P.) to assist implementation of their proposals.

By 1970, the report states, there should be at least 7,500 students in Nigerian universities, about four times the present number. The Ibadan branch of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology should be incorporated into University College, Ibadan, while the new university at Nsukka should take over the buildings of the Enugu branch of the college: the Zaria branch of the college should be the centre of a new university in the north, with which would be associated the new Ahmadu Bello college.

There might also have to be well over 1,000 expatriate teachers working in Nigeria for some years until emergency measures in Nigeria have had their effect: and the Federal Government would have to establish "national high schools" throughout the country to expand sixth form work. A national universities commission should be established to secure funds for universities and to distribute them, to co-ordinate ("without interfering with") their activities and generally to advise the Federal Government, a main provider of funds for the universities, on university matters.

*West Africa* (October 22) commented: "The report is one of the most important documents in Nigeria's history and can be endlessly discussed but even if its proposals seem revolutionary and even if one is startled by its figure of £20 million as the capital cost of the new universities we should remember that the Commission are only recommending that by 1970 Nigeria should attempt to produce as many graduates per thousand of the population as Ghana has today. The question is, as the Commission put it, not whether Nigeria can afford an effort on this scale but whether she can afford not to make it. This is a splendid challenge to offer to independent Nigeria, as a policy on which all could agree."

Dr. Azikiwe, speaking at the new Nsukka University, emphasized Nigeria's need for people trained in agriculture, engineering, business administration, education, and domestic science. He said: "The British have left us with an imperishable legacy of rule of law and respect for human dignity. But to preserve the unity of our country and establish a stable society, we must raise the living standards of our people, creating more industries and providing full employment. We cannot afford to continue to produce an upper class of parasites to prey upon a stagnant and sterile class of workers and peasants."

## Sierra Leone

### Towards Independence

THE House of Assembly is to consider a resolution requesting the British Government to introduce legislation in Parliament providing for the establishment of Sierra Leone as an independent sovereign state on April 27, 1961. It will also request Britain at the appropriate time to support, with other member Governments, Sierra Leone's desire to become a member of the Commonwealth. (*The Times*, November 4.)



## Diamond Smuggling Continues

The Police Report for 1959 stated that some £10 million worth of diamonds were smuggled out of the country in the year, yet the police managed to seize only £6,971.

The *Daily Mail* (Freetown, September 27) commented: "Even allowing for all the undoubted cleverness of smugglers, this seems an amazingly low percentage of recoveries. Even over-simplifying the figures, it means that for every £1 worth of diamonds seized, another £1,000 worth slipped through the net.

"The police report mentions that two leading 'civilian agents'—a term which is not clarified—used by the Diamond Branch have permanently left Sierra Leone, and there have therefore had to be changes in the anti-smuggling system. The report adds hopefully that 'the changes may well prove fruitful in the long run'—a vague enough prediction.

"Diamond smuggling this year is certainly not at the same level that it was last year; it is perhaps down by half. This can be attributed to the working of the Government Diamond Office. Nevertheless, one would certainly like to feel that every positive action was being taken to halt the drain on our resources still continuing at the rate of several million pounds a year."

# PAN-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

## P.A.F.M.E.C.A. Conference

MR. TOM MBOYA presided over a conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa which was held in Mbale, Uganda, at the end of October. The conference was attended by delegates from East, Central and South Africa. The secretary of the All-African People's Conference, Mr. Diallo, from Guinea also attended. Mr. Mboya, in his final address, winding up the conference, said that resolutions included:

*Military bases in Africa*—condemned and rejected without qualifications.

*Portuguese colonies*—the conference totally condemned the invitation of the British Government to the Portuguese vice-president, Dr. Ferreira, to visit Kenya. Mr. Mboya described him as "a man behind a régime which has been responsible for the brutal murder of thousands in Angola and Mozambique and the brutal suppression of the interests of others".

*The Congo*—P.A.F.M.E.C.A. supported without reservation the legitimate and constitutional Government of the Congo—that of Mr. Patrice Lumumba. The Belgians were seeking to "cover the bankruptcy of their previous colonial policies, trying to wreck the new, independent Government of the Congo", Mr. Mboya declared.

*Federation*—P.A.F.M.E.C.A.'s "freedom co-ordinating committee" is to submit a paper to a meeting of leaders of member organizations to discuss and plan a federation of East and Central African states.

*The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*—P.A.F.M.E.C.A. members were to "devote all our material and moral resources to the immediate destruction of the Federation". The conference "rejects the Monckton Commission and other reports or commissions aimed at modifying the Federation".

*Uganda*—P.A.F.M.E.C.A. condemned the Buganda Lukiko's tribalist attempt at secession and supported nationalist forces pressing for direct election to the Uganda Legislative Council in 1961.

Mr. Mboya stated that the conference called for the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta and added: "With the strength we are bound to assume on attaining independence we will marshal our forces into South Africa and bring about the inevitable change that must come." (*S.A. Star*, November 5.)

## French-Speaking Africa Meets

French-speaking Africa's summit conference was held in conditions of unprecedented secrecy at Abidjan. The delegates—premiers or heads of state of Ivory Coast, Niger, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Senegal, Mauritania, Congo (ex-French), Tchad and Cameroun, and ministers from the Central African Republic and Gabon—closeted themselves in Houphouët-

Boigny's villa and even delegates' advisers were kept in the dark. An official communique expressed "unanimity" of views on the "big African problems, especially Algeria, Congo and Mauritania". It said instructions would be given to United Nations delegates to adopt a common policy on all matters, especially African. Mauritanian membership of United Nations would be upheld without reserve by the participants. Conferences of this kind would be held periodically—the next at Brazzaville and the third at Yaounde. M. Albert Kalondji, head of the Kasai State in the (ex-Belgian) Congo, was there to represent Kasavubu.

Notable absentees were Togo's premier, Sylvanus Olympio, who is believed not to see eye to eye with the rest on Algeria, Modibo Keita of Mali and President Tsiranana of Madagascar, who has stated that he supports de Gaulle's 'self-determination' policy in Algeria. Guinea was not invited. (*West Africa*, October 29.)

Simon Kiba writing in *Afrique Nouvelle* (October 19) said that the states attending the conference had much in common: their recent past, and the French language and culture. However, there would be difficulties. There would be the thorny question of the Mali Federation; another cause of discord was the fact that some opposition groups which had been banned in their own countries were continuing the struggle from other territories. While economic problems in each territory were parallel it would be hard to reach understanding on purely economic problems without involving political issues. Clearly political problems rather than economic ones were the first concern of Africans.

If this meeting tries to establish a Common Market in Africa it will be a means of freedom and welfare for the Africans. Political independence is valueless without economic independence. The latter is not achieved by dismissing the overseas interests, but by negotiating with them. Africans must bring in their own ways of supervising capital, and controlling businessmen, as the latter would not themselves change the present structure which was in their own interests. Thus the idea of a franc zone such as is accepted now must, according to the economists, be modified if independence was to be real. Contradictions in the present economic policy are great. . . . In Hambourg bananas from the Ivory Coast are eaten while most of the children in the Niger never see one in their village.

All arrangements designed either to increase the profits of private capital (the crumbs falling to the Africans) or to strangle all individual initiative by extreme socialism would be against the interests of the majority. There was a middle way.

Jean Marie Garraud writing in *Le Figaro* (October 27) at the end of the conference said that it had been a first attempt. The next conferences to be held in Brazzaville from December 10-15 and then at Yaounde would show the importance of the United African Front which is being born. He continued: "Perhaps the Front will grow. The president of Togo who did not take his place round the table at Abidjan has said that Morocco and Tunisia should participate in this summit meeting. But for the time being two decisions have been taken. First the African states will favour the independence of Mauritania in spite of Morocco's claims. Secondly the states will adopt a common policy at the United Nations and will form a group alongside but not subordinate to the Afro-Asian Group. Complete silence has been maintained on Algeria by the participants. Above all the African states have taken account of the need to live together in a Black continent in a state of great change and under the influence of very many different pressures."

Commenting on the agreed policy for the United Nations *Le Courrier d'Afrique* (October 27) said: "Is there in fact an Afro-Asian bloc. If until now the Afro-Asians have felt the need to work together, their only purpose was to bring to the fore their common struggle against western colonialism. Today their first aim is achieved. Those who yesterday joined together in a common struggle, having nothing in common with their 'brothers' except for their brotherhood in the war against colonialism, are now looking beyond their liberation to their own particular problem, not only in preserving their territory's independence but in safeguarding their inheritance. And in this field diverging if not opposing views are found. They have been seen at the United Nations in the case of the Congo.

"It is in the light of these recent manoeuvres that some African

countries, which refer to themselves as French-speaking, decided to hold this conference, which is going to lead to a strengthening of their common position in international affairs and more particularly in the defence of African interests.

"Does that indicate separation from the Afro-Asian bloc? One thing seems clear from now on; it is that a new African bloc is emerging. It is not very likely that Ghana and Guinea or even Mali will join in the immediate future. Nkrumah would lose—if he has not already lost it after his actions in the Congo—his lead in Africa."

## GENERAL

### African Students in Britain

In a special article a *Times* correspondent wrote: "In their readiness for independence the British territories in East and Central Africa lie somewhere between the chaos of the Congo and the comparative calm of Nigeria. It would be unwise to estimate how far from the one or how near to the other, but it is clear that chaos or order will partly depend on the ability of British universities, technical colleges, and other institutions to train potential African leaders. Their readiness to rule themselves is reflected to a great extent in their standards of education, and these standards can most readily be judged by the numbers of students assessed as qualified to benefit from further and higher education in this country.

"Just before independence, Nigeria, with an African population of 35 million, was sending 1,266 scholars and 4,547 known private students to this country and even with this number only half the senior positions in the public services were staffed by Africans. From Ghana, students here with some sort of financial aid are estimated at 1,500 with perhaps another 1,750 private students.

"A Colonial Office official estimated that in the 1920's there might have been thirty students here from the whole of Africa. In the academic year 1959-60 there were 7,400 Africans out of 18,588 Colonial students. Of these only 847 were from East and Central Africa. Of the East and Central African territories, the largest number of students that come here are from Uganda. In the academic year 1959-60 there were 309 African scholars and a further eighty-four private students. Engineering, nursing, teaching, medicine, arts and economics, agriculture and forestry, and law are the favourite subjects. Elsewhere the picture is not so bright. Tanganyika has seventy-one African scholars and twenty private students in Britain, Northern Rhodesia has twenty-one and nine, Nyasaland has nineteen and four, and Kenya has about forty and eighty-six respectively.

"At Oxford, Cambridge, and London Universities there are the Overseas Service Courses, which have been running since the 1920's. For the first time Africans taking the courses at Oxford outnumber other races and this trend has become more pronounced at all three centres in each year since the war. One of the courses is for men, mostly from the Colonies, who have just graduated from university and who will be staffing the administrative services. A second is for experienced serving officers who do not necessarily have degrees. At Oxford there is a special course in forestry for assistant conservators and one for embryo foreign service cadets from countries about to become independent. At Cambridge the courses are run by twelve dons called the Overseas Studies Committee and include five professors and two heads of colleges.

"For a country about to become independent, perhaps some of the most useful training takes place at the Police Training College at Bramshill. Here Mr. R. de L. Wheeler, Director of Overseas Studies, is in charge of preparing senior and junior colonial police officers for greater responsibility in their local forces. Since 1948 about 750 Colonial officers, predominantly Africans, have studied here and have had advanced instruction in criminal law, police procedure and internal security methods. In addition, there is the officer training at Sandhurst, where there are sixty-eight African cadets.

"As well as the education provided by Governments, companies in various parts of Africa have gone far towards Africanizing their staffs. The United Africa Company has recently begun a higher education scholarship scheme not necessarily for people connected with the com-

pany. For many years they have been bringing promising African staff to this country for training that will help them to higher positions in the company.

"The way in which universities, technical colleges and schools have expanded to make room for these students has been remarkable, but it is generally agreed that there is little likelihood of any lessening of the demands from Africa on educational facilities here for at least the next ten years. Whether British universities can continue to loosen their belts remains to be seen, but we have come a long way since the 1920's and, as Professor Lewis says, 'I have no doubt that we can cope with these numbers if we have the will to do so.' (*The Times*, October 31.)

### Overseas Service

New arrangements are planned by the United Kingdom Government to enable Colonial and dependent countries approaching or achieving independence to retain the services of experienced officers recruited overseas.

Under a plan which will come into effect in most territories on April 1, 1961, the British Government will assist these territories by contributing between £12 million and £16 million each year towards the cost of keeping overseas administrators and technical and professional experts until experienced local staff can be trained to replace them.

The scheme will affect all existing colonies and dependencies and also Nigeria (already independent but with many expatriate officers still serving in it), Sierra Leone (due to become independent in April 1961), Singapore, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Governments which wish to accept the offer will be invited to sign a formal agreement with the United Kingdom Government.

The Government White Paper<sup>1</sup> says: "It is the hope of Her Majesty's Government that these arrangements will substantially ease the difficulties, both political and financial, that confront the governments of developing countries in seeking to employ skilled manpower from overseas in the numbers which their needs indicate but their limited budgets cannot always easily meet." It declares that as a consequence of the arrangements, even the poorest country should be able to pay the market rate for the expatriate officers they wish to retain and thus speed up economic and social development and improve conditions for local Civil Servants.

Territorial governments accepting the scheme in this way will receive from Her Majesty's Government the full cost of inducement allowance designed to attract and keep expatriate officers in service overseas; full cost of education and children's allowances for the children of officers and of the additional pension or contract gratuity which an officer will earn from his inducement allowance; half the cost of passages to and from his home country for the officer and his family, including an annual visit to their parents by children being educated overseas; and half the cost of compensation awarded to an officer for loss of career on premature retirement resulting from the progress to independence of the territory in which he served.

The British Government will make no payments direct to overseas officers who, while being members of a common service under the Queen will continue to owe their full loyalty to the territorial government which employs them.

The White Paper, emphasizing that the scheme has no strings attached, adds: "It is a matter for each government to whom the offer is made to weigh its advantages and decide whether or not they will accept."

### Commonwealth and Africa

The communique issued on September 21 at the close of the London meeting of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council stated:

"The council discussed the economic problems in relation to Commonwealth trade and investment arising from the creation of the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association. . . .

"The council recognized the importance of political and economic unity in Western Europe. It was accepted that in any negotiations that take place the essential interests of Commonwealth countries should be safeguarded and full account taken of the continuing importance of intra-Commonwealth trade. . . .

<sup>1</sup>H.M.S.O., Cmd. 1193, ls. 3d.

"The council examined the question of co-operative action among members of the Commonwealth in assisting Commonwealth countries (including dependent territories) in Africa. They noted that Commonwealth countries, with others, were already providing aid bilaterally and were also making substantial resources available through existing international organizations.

"In order to focus attention on this effort and to help further in meeting the very great need for assistance in raising the standards of life in the less-developed Commonwealth countries in Africa, the council decided to initiate a Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan. It is expected that most Commonwealth countries will provide assistance mainly in the form of technical assistance of various kinds, including the provision of experts, training facilities or equipment, or of the sharing of experience gained in dealing with development problems. Assistance will be given bilaterally and by increased support of existing international organizations and contact will be maintained with those organizations and with other governments which are active in this field. The council agreed that they would review annually the progress made. . . .

The *Times* political correspondent said that the purpose of the plan, by all accounts, will be not to produce a flow of capital to Commonwealth countries in Africa but to co-ordinate within the family whatever aid is bilaterally offered and accepted. (*The Times*, September 22.)

### Africa Week in Germany

"Africa Week" in Bonn, to which 120 influential Africans from twenty-four countries were invited, was attended by Professor Ludwig Erhart, Federal Minister of Economics, Dr. Gerstenmaier, Speaker of the Bundestag and chairman of the German-African Society, and a host of Federal and Lander Ministers and parliamentarians.

The programme of the "Week" covered lectures, films, exhibitions of African art, photographs and books, and discussions between the visitors and German M.P.s, trade unionists, artists and writers. It was opened in the new Beethoven Hall in Bonn and immediately jumped into newspaper headlines through the extraordinary behaviour of the usually mild-mannered Russian Ambassador, Mr. Andrei Smirnov.

The Russian Ambassador had been provoked by Professor Erhart's declaration that although the colonial age had ended in Africa, the worst kind of colonialism today was that of Communist dictatorship. Of course, the majority of guests did not need such warnings: but the sortie of the Russian Ambassador brought home to them the reality of the cold war which, in the minds of many of them, can be safely kept at a distance from their own countries, just by stating that they don't want to be a party to it.

From talks with several delegates, it is clear that they were much impressed by the incredible German economic recovery. All expected some kind of technical help from the Germans, and all had a *faible* for Germans who, even if unwittingly, had been exempted from the onus of colonialism during the past thirty years. The only causes of disagreement were the European Community merger plans looming large on the horizon, and what is called "Franco-German collusion" on the Algerian problem.

Professor Erhart announced that Germany would subscribe to aid programmes for underdeveloped countries without making any political conditions, and that negotiations for this aid would begin shortly.

Mr. Von Hassel, from Tanganyika, suggested that Germany should "free" experts in agriculture, waterways, afforestation, power harnessing, and industrial training, etc., for a period of five years for service in the needy countries, on the understanding that this term would be considered as a routine period of duty at home. This move is intended to allay the fears of young technicians about their future career which would not be jeopardized by their absence overseas—their posts being retained in the budget of the State. The fear of being "left behind" is a real plague in Germany, cursing even the students, who hesitate to make use of the scholarships offered by foreign countries for fear of not getting the "fat jobs" at home if they don't have conventional German degrees. It is interesting to note that Mr. Von Hassel's suggestion is similar in its conception to the Kennedy plan to send young Americans in the development countries, as a "peace corps", for three years and to exempt them in exchange from conscription.

However, the purpose of "Africa Week" was not for "hard selling" but

to show Africans that Germany is able and willing to help. (*West Africa*, November 19.)

### West Africa and the Press

"Press and Progress in West Africa" was the title given to a seminar organized in Dakar, by the Committee of Inter-African Relations. The Committee is composed of five members from Nigeria, Togoland, Dahomey, Ghana and Mali.

E. J. B. Rose, director of the International Press Institute, said that the seminar had before it full reports on the growth of the Press over the last thirty years, its present condition and the problems confronting it. These were "invaluable in keeping the seminar's feet on the ground".

The first day was devoted to freedom of the Press and this proved very nearly disastrous. The discussions almost immediately revealed a wide gulf between the French-speaking and British-speaking Africans.

As the seminar was concerned to promote the growth of a healthy indigenous Press, the organizers had invited, in addition to journalists, printers, educationalists and representatives of industry. They had also thought it wise, in an area where so much depends on the goodwill of governments to invite politicians and government officials. No doubt this was right, but the politicians nearly wrecked the seminar.

Right at the outset M. Doudou Gueye, Senator from Senegal, opposed the liberal conception of freedom of the Press. It was simply not applicable in the new countries. They could not afford the luxury of differing opinions. The Press must serve the construction of the country. . . . The Government should control the radio and the cinema; these media and the Press must explain to the population what the Government is doing. M. Gueye went further and said that no news could be admitted which did not serve the nation.

These opinions proved to be anathema to the English-speaking Africans, particularly from Nigeria, who had been brought up in a commercial system where free competition exists among newspapers.

It was unfortunate, but not surprising that most of the French African journalists present were employed in Government radio or in Ministries of Information. Whatever their private opinions, they could not stand up and dispute the extreme Leninist views of the Senator.

The outlook of an independent indigenous Press in French-speaking West Africa is in any case fairly bleak. The difficulties are enormous. Distance, illiteracy, the lack of trained personnel (I was told that in the whole of Senegal only 250 men had taken the baccalaureat), high tariffs on newsprint and high air freight rates, present very real problems.

There are practically no indigenous newspapers in the whole area. (The contrast between "French" and "British" West Africa is most striking.) Risk capital is hardly to be found. Statutory laws and administrative measures are really intimidating for private press enterprise.

However, a different attitude prevailed in the comparative privacy of the working groups. The Press freedom group, which did not have benefit of politicians, unanimously produced a set of recommendations conducive to healthy Press/Government relations and the growth of a free Press. The group also stressed the need for strong professional associations which should formulate and enforce codes of conduct. It called for a comparative review of laws, and regulations affecting the Press, in West Africa, with a view to drafting model laws to protect the interests of the State, the public and journalists.

The working group on training recommended that one-year all-purpose training courses be set up in the Universities of Dakar and Ibadan, each to serve the French-speaking and English-speaking regions. All the participants insisted that English should be taught to the students at Dakar and French at Ibadan. There is reason to believe that U.N.E.S.C.O., which was represented at the seminar, may be able to act on the basis of these proposals.

The Press in what was formerly British West Africa is well established compared to anything that exists in the French-speaking region. Yet it faces many problems. It is concentrated in a few hands; it lacks capital; it faces competition from the foreign-owned *Daily Mirror* Group and, in Ghana, from the Government newspaper.

The working group on economic and technical development urged governments to provide credit without strings, to encourage private



capital, to give their printing contracts to African commercial printers and not to place them outside the country. It also called on I.P.I. to send experts to West Africa to advise the Press on printing, management, distribution and financing. (*I.P.I. Report*, September 1960.)

## British Premier at the United Nations

Mr. Harold Macmillan during his address to the United Nations said that the United Kingdom Government felt that what the United Nations had done in the Congo was timely and should continue. It would be a tragedy if the Congo were to become the arena for the contest between the two great groups of Powers. "I believe that the great majority here are convinced that the United Nations is the best instrument to prevent that happening," he said. "It is of the first importance to the people of the Congo and to Africa as a whole, where so many new nations are emerging.

"I could not tell the story of my own country better than in words I addressed to Mr. Krushchev in reply to a communication of his in the summer. I referred to 'policies which British Governments of all parties have followed not only since the last war but for many generations'. I went on: For more than a century it has been our purpose to guide our dependent territories towards freedom and independence. . . . We have aided this process both by our technical assistance and by financial contributions. All these states are completely independent members of our free Commonwealth association. Nor is this movement at an end. In a few days Nigeria will join us, Sierra Leone and then the West Indies Federation will follow, and in due course others. Cyprus is already represented here. Who dares to say that this is anything but a story of steady and liberal progress?

"Within our Commonwealth of independent nations there are bound to be differences; but, however, acute these may be, the member countries try honestly and peacefully to resolve them. . . . Similarly the French colonial empire has changed into the French Community of Nations. Their representatives are with us today.

"In Africa above all we are in the presence of a dramatic political transformation; the greater part of this continent has already gained independence. The great credit for this achievement must go to the people of Africa themselves. Those of us who have helped them forward to nationhood feel that we too have a right to be proud. For we have been working with the people of these countries to help them realize their aspirations for peace, independence, prosperity, and individual freedom. They want these things in a form which suits them, not according to some ideological pattern imposed from outside. They want to avoid violence and chaos, for these things bring with them outside pressure and interference. New nations, to preserve their real independence, must be effective in protecting their own interests.

"In helping the people of these countries to advance to independence we have therefore devoted all our efforts not to checking the forces of nationalism but to harnessing them in the creation of new, strong and vigorous nations, undivided by tribal, ideological or racial strife, and imbued with the strength which only freedom and prosperity can give.

"In this great story of Commonwealth progress there are still difficult areas. There are the parts of Africa where Europeans and Africans, and indeed Asians, all live side by side. Our aim is clear and constant: to help the people of these countries to build up for themselves societies in which all the people, of whatever race, of whatever tribe, of whatever religious persuasion, may live and work harmoniously together. To that purpose we are pledged and for that purpose we shall continue to work.

"In this year of 1960, so great for the peoples of Africa, the consummation of this policy can already be seen in many countries; in others it is rapidly approaching. With our willing help the people of these countries

are steadily proceeding to the goal of political independence. Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Tanganyika are all examples of the harmony and agreement between us and the peoples' leaders by which this process has gone forward, but what the peoples of Africa and also those of Asia equally need are those things to which President Eisenhower referred in his speech: food, development, education, freedom from the arms race.

"Mr. Krushchev's slogans are to my mind completely out of date. . . . Instead of talking so much about the right of self-determination of the people of Africa, the Soviet authorities would do better to explain why they have consistently refused this right to the people of East Germany. . . .

"We in the United Kingdom particularly welcomed the secretary-general's proposals earlier this year for assistance to newly independent countries in Africa and elsewhere. We must all, within the limit of our resources, make the greatest possible contribution in men, money, and materials to the less developed countries of the world. We therefore also welcome the proposals made by President Eisenhower regarding the African programme, the special fund, and the expanded programme of technical assistance.

"We share with the United States Government the view that the operational and executive personnel programme of technical assistance must be expanded and made permanent. We equally welcome President Eisenhower's emphasis on educational needs, for training and education are the essential tools of freedom and progress." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 6.)

*The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents*

## BOOK LIST

(Recent additions to the Africa Bureau Library)

BENSON, Mary. *Tshekedi Khamá*. A biography. Published by Faber & Faber. (Price 30s.)

FRANCK, Thomas. *Race and Nationalism, the Struggle for Power in Rhodesia-Nyasaland*. A survey of the Federation's origins, development and present difficulties. Foreword by James Callaghan, M.P. Published by George Allen and Unwin. (Price 30s.)

*New Fabian Colonial Essays*. Edited by Arthur Creech Jones. A number of former Cabinet Ministers and other experts on colonial affairs write about problems which face newly independent countries. Published by The Hogarth Press. (Price 25s.)

JACK, Homer A. *Angola—Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa*. An American Committee on Africa pamphlet written by its Associate Director who visited Angola in 1952 and has since been in touch with leaders of the nationalist movement there.

WODDIS, Jack. *Africa—The Roots of Revolt*. Deals with social and economic causes of the "wind of change". Published by Lawrence & Wishart. (Price 21s.)

*East African Chiefs*. Edited by Audrey Richards. A study of political development in some Uganda and Tanganyika tribes. Includes an analysis of 1,154 career histories of chiefs at different administrative levels. Published by Faber & Faber. (Price 42s.)

*The Colonial Territories 1959-1960*. Published by H.M.S.O. (Price 6s. 6d.)

*The "Pass Laws" and African Taxation*. Two Fact Papers. Published by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. (Price 5s. and 2s. 6d. respectively.)

## AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

We record with great regret the death of Dr. John Baillie, the well-known theologian of the Church of Scotland who was a founder Honorary President of the Africa Bureau.

The Very Rev. Dr. George Macleod has kindly accepted the Executive Committee's invitation to become an Honorary President of the Bureau. Dr. Macleod has been particularly concerned with Central African questions in recent years. He visited the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland during his term as Moderator of the Church of Scotland and was chairman of the special committee on Central Africa which reported to the 1959 General Assembly in Edinburgh.

Press conferences have been arranged at frequent intervals during the past two months dealing with Southern Rhodesian developments. The last was organized for Mr. Joshua Nkomo who has now returned to Salisbury to lead the National Democratic Party. We have continued to collect funds for the Southern Rhodesia Legal Aid and Welfare Fund, and its secretary has kept us regularly informed of their needs. Since the disturbances at the beginning of July, which put such a great strain on the resources of the Committee the Bureau has sent a total of £670 and hopes to send a further contribution shortly. The needs are very great and we will be most grateful for any further contributions. Some of those being assisted by the Committee have been in detention or under restriction for twenty-one months.

In view of the serious situation in Pondoland (see p. 103) a Press conference was organized for Dr. Y. Dadoo and Mr. Nana Mahomo of the South African United Front. They gave information to the Press on the background to the events in the Transkei.

The Rev. Michael Scott went to the United Nations at the beginning of November. He joined the other petitioners from South West Africa in giving evidence to the United Nations Fourth Committee.

Miss Mary Benson, who was secretary of the Bureau for many years and is now a member of the Executive, has written a biography of the late Tshekedi Khama. This book which is published on December 8 will be of considerable interest to members of the Africa Bureau, as it tells the story of some of the events which convinced Michael Scott and others of the need for the Bureau to be established.

The Africa Councils have taken part in organizing a series of meetings on Central Africa. Members of the staff and Executive have also addressed meetings in Oxford, Southampton, Doncaster and Sussex.

Anyone wishing to order our Christmas Cards should send their orders in as soon as possible. Copies of the order form can still be obtained from the secretary.

## THE AFRICA BUREAU

65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1 (Tate Gallery 0701)

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*Printed in Great Britain by Mackays of Chatham*



